A Grammar of Eastern Tawbuid

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Abstract

This book is a descriptive grammar of the Eastern Tawbuid language, containing analysis of the phonology, morphology and syntax of this under-documented language of the Philippines. The ISO code for this language is [bnj]. Prior to this book, there has been virtually no published data or analysis of the Eastern Tawbuid language, and there has been no published descriptive grammar of any of the languages native to the island of Mindoro, where Eastern Tawbuid is spoken. One function of this grammar, therefore, is to help fill this gap in the documentation of Philippine languages. But setting aside the issue of language documentation, the data presented in this grammar are interesting, revealing a language with a complex system of negation, a verbal morphology which encodes a range of modal and aspectual distinctions, and a plethora of second-position clitics for communicating subtle semantic and pragmatic information.

While some parts of the grammar will be familiar to students of previously documented Philippine languages, Eastern Tawbuid diverges in several ways from these languages. The most striking difference is the absence in Eastern Tawbuid of elaborate systems of voice or voice-like alternations that form a ubiquitous part of the morphosyntax of better-known Philippine languages.

This and many other divergences between Eastern Tawbuid syntax and the syntax of a 'typical' Philippine language make the previous neglect of this language particularly regrettable. It is the author's hope that this book will stimulate more interest in the languages of Mindoro, as well as helping Philippinists to develop a more complete picture of the linguistic diversity that exists within this region.

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Photograph 1. Subject B testing the river depth just outside of Safa village (Dec 2014). Several crop storage sheds are visible in the background.

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Photograph 3. View of a small part of Safa village.

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Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Meaning	Abbreviation	Meaning
ABL	ablative	INTENT	intentive
ACC	accusative	INTERJ	interjection
ACQ	acquisition	IPFV	imperfective
ADE	adessive	ITER	iterative
ADJ	adjective	LNK	linker
ADVERS	adversative	LOC	locative
AGT	agentive	NAGT	non-agentive
ALL	allative	NEG	negator
ANTIC	anticipative	NMLZ	nominalisation
AVERT	avertive	OBL	oblique
CAUS	causative	OPT	optative
CHAR	characteristic state	PFV	perfective
COMPV	comparative	PL	plural
CON	conative	POT	potentive
DEM	demonstrative	PROJ	projective
DET	determiner	PROX	proximal
DISCP	discourse particle	QUANT	quantifier
DIST	distal	QUOT	quotation particle
DU	dual	Q	interrogative particle
EXIST	existential predicate	RES	resulting state
GEN	genitive	SG	single
HABIT	habitual	SUB	subordinator
IMPV	imperative	SUPER	superlative
INCL	inclusive	TERM	terminative
INE	inessive	VIS	visible
INS	instrument		

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Introduction

Eastern Tawbuid is an Austronesian language spoken on the island of Mindoro in the Philippines. Mindoro is the seventh largest island in the Philippines, with an area of about ten thousand square kilometers and mountainous terrain (Wernstedt and Spencer 1967). The exact number of speakers of Eastern Tawbuid is unknown; according to one estimate it is about seven thousand (Lewis et al 2015).[1] The ISO code for this language is [bnj].

Nine languages with varying levels of vitality are or were spoken on Mindoro. Tagalog dominates the coastal lowlands, while seven languages (Iraya, Alangan, Tadyawan, Eastern Tawbuid, Western Tawbuid, Buhid, Hanunoo) are spoken by the minority groups who live in the inland parts of the island. Another language, Ratagnon, was previously spoken in the far south of the island (Eberhard et al 2021). All these languages except for Tagalog are called the 'Mangyan' languages in popular usage, a catch-all term which should not be mistaken for a technical linguistic classification (Zorc 1974).[2]

Eastern Tawbuid goes by several names in the literature on Philippine languages. Many sources conflate Eastern and Western Tawbuid and call them 'Batangan' (e.g. Zorc 1974, Blust 1991), while the latest edition of *Ethnologue* calls Eastern Tawbuid 'Bangon' and Western Tawbuid 'Tawbuid' (Eberhard et al 2021). My informants do not refer to themselves as either 'Batangan' or 'Bangon', but they do readily call themselves *taw buid* 'upriver/uphill people'. For this reason, I prefer the term 'Eastern Tawbuid' in this grammar.

In the literature dealing with the classification of Philippine languages, Eastern Tawbuid is classed with Western Tawbuid, Buhid, and Hanunoo in a group called 'Southern Mangyan' (Tweddell 1970, Blust 1991, Eberhard et al 2021). Southern Mangyan is placed by Blust (1991) within the Greater Central Philippine language group, a group which includes better-known Central Philippine languages such as Tagalog and Cebuano. Blust does note, however, that given the paucity of data on 'Batangan' (i.e. Western and Eastern Tawbuid), the placement of this language within Southern Mangyan should be regarded as tentative.

1.1   Literature

There is no published literature on the Eastern Tawbuid language, although some unpublished work does exist. Russell and Barbara Reed, Overseas Missionary Fellowship (OMF) missionaries who worked with the Tawbuid for many years, produced an unpublished dictionary, as well as a mimeographed pedagogical grammar. Reed and Reed's (1990) grammar contains one page devoted to phonology, forty-one pages devoted primarily to morphology and lexis, and twenty-one pages of miscellaneous notes. The pedagogical nature of the work makes itself felt in many ways, not the least being the translation exercises which take up much of the page count given above. Unfortunately, Reed and Reed do not say where they got almost all their examples, and many of them have the appearance of having been translated or constructed by the Reeds themselves. Examples are not glossed, and the English translations are sometimes misleading. In short, the grammar is not a work which was intended as a source for linguistic research, and its usefulness as such is limited.

Some anthropological research has been done on Eastern Tawbuid cultural practices (Pennoyer 1975, 1977, 1980).

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[1] The latest edition of *Ethnologue* (Eberhard et al 2021) gives a strikingly lower (and oddly precise) figure of 1,130. Given the number of Eastern Tawbuid speakers whom I have met, I suspect that this figure is far too low.

[2] See Barbian (1977) for a study of the geographic distribution of linguistic groups in Mindoro, including a range of maps produced by various researchers. On most of these maps, the Tawbuid area is labelled 'Batangan'.

As for the rest of the Southern Mangyan languages, Western Tawbuid and Buhid are in a similar position to Eastern Tawbuid, with little to no published linguistic description;[3] although unpublished accounts by OMF missionaries do exist.[4] In contrast, there are several publications on the Hanunoo language, beginning with Conklin's detailed *Hanunóo-English Vocabulary* (1953). Conklin also published several articles on Hanunoo (e.g. 1954, 1959), generally with an anthropological focus. More recently, work has been done on Hanunoo discourse analysis (Epo 2014).

Compared to the work that has been done on Hanunoo, there is a clear shortage of work on other Southern Mangyan languages. Until more is available, studies of Philippine languages will miss any interesting properties of the Southern Mangyan languages which are not represented in Hanunoo. This descriptive grammar of Eastern Tawbuid is a step towards dealing with the imbalance, by providing a linguistic description of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of this little-known language of Mindoro.

1.2   Location

Of the various Mindoro highland groups, the Tawbuid are the most centrally-located (Tweddell 1970, Lewis et al 2015). Older sources characterise them as being extremely shy of outsiders (Tweddell 1970, Pennoyer 1977). My informants report that this is still the case for Tawbuid speakers who live further inland; the place where I did my fieldwork is on the edge of the Tawbuid area, and the people there regularly interact with outsiders.

I did my fieldwork in Safa, a settlement of several hundred people located on one of the tributaries of the Pula River of Oriental Mindoro. The settlement is built on the side of a hill, with a primary school and a basketball court at the bottom, next to the river, and a church building about halfway up the slope. In GPS coordinates, the location of Safa is 12°58'45" N, 121°19'40" E.

According to the residents of present-day Safa, their community is an amalgamation of several smaller communities, which gathered from various locations after converting to Christianity. The location of the Safa community has itself shifted over the years, reportedly moving to its current location sometime after the eruption of Mount Pinatubo in 1991.

The inhabitants of Safa are almost all Tawbuid; a few Tagalog families live on the flat land at the bottom of the hill, but they form a separate group who do not participate in most of the activities of the Tawbuid community in Safa. People in Safa first got electricity in 2014; the same year, a rough road was built that reaches almost to the village.

All the Tawbuid people living in Safa are, by default, farmers. Individuals, both men and women, own portions of land which are located upriver from the village proper. They grow a range of cash crops, including bananas, coconuts, cocoa and coffee. People also grow highland rice for their own consumption, as well as a variety of root crops.

Aside from farming, there are a few other ways that people acquire food and/or money. Men who own motorbikes make money by taking passengers to or from town. Many people also make money by keeping small shops which sell everything from matches to shampoo to instant coffee. Small-time hunting and fishing are also common, and people also raise pigs and chickens. Note that none of these activities constitute regular, paid employment. For most people, these other activities are things which they do in addition to farming, their primary job. Some people do get paid employment by moving to the Tagalog-dominated areas nearer the coast, where they generally work as labourers or housekeepers.

Christianity is the dominant religion in Safa. Church services are held twice a day, and everyone attends, albeit with varying frequency. After the evening service, people gather in the area around the

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[3] There is a Buhid phonological sketch available (Barham 1958), and some Buhid vocabulary is listed in Zorc's (1974) paper on the interrelationships of the Mangyan languages. Unfortunately, Zorc (1974) does not have any data from Eastern or Western Tawbuid.

[4] This includes a brief overview of Western Tawbuid grammar produced by Derek Daniels, as well as a Buhid dictionary. Electronic copies of these are available from the language archive maintained by the SIL Philippines. The Mangyan Heritage Center (www.mangyan.org), a research group based in the city of Calapan, also maintains an archive of material on Mangyan languages.

church and socialise; public announcements relating to commerce, the school, and community initiatives are also given during this time. Safa is part of a network of about seven Christianised Eastern Tawbuid communities, of which Safa is the largest. These communities maintain close ties with one another: many people have family members in other communities, and members of all communities gather for major events such as the three-day Christmas celebrations.

1.3   Language vitality

While I am not able to comment on the vitality of Eastern Tawbuid in general, in Safa the language is vigorous. Eastern Tawbuid is the primary language of communication for all ages in most domains, and it is the first language which children acquire. For the most part, people have a positive attitude to Eastern Tawbuid. Many people express a desire for more vernacular literature, as well as a wish that their language 'not be lost'. They speak Eastern Tawbuid to one another in the presence of non-Tawbuid, and they do so even when they are in a predominantly Tagalog language area. Quite a few Tagalog people living in the area have some knowledge of Eastern Tawbuid.[5]

Some level of Tagalog bilingualism is the norm among adults in Safa. In the school system, children are taught in Tagalog from kindergarten onwards. Tagalog is used by adults and children alike when interacting with most lowland Filipinos and non-Filipinos, and it is also used by some speakers for formal speech in church. Aside from Eastern Tawbuid and Tagalog, many residents of Safa also claim to have some knowledge of the neighbouring Tadyawan language. English is taught at all levels of schooling, but save for a few loanwords, it is not used in actual communication in Safa.

1.4   Fieldwork

This grammar is the product of a long-running fascination of mine with the Eastern Tawbuid language. This fascination began over a decade ago, in late 2010. At the time, I was eighteen years old, and I went to spend a month in Calapan, the capital of Oriental Mindoro. While I was there, I met a few Eastern Tawbuid speakers and began learning their language. I also took the opportunity to make a brief visit to Safa, which was the home village of several of the Eastern Tawbuid speakers whom I had met. Though at this point I had no formal linguistic qualifications, languages were a passion of mine, and I had already begun to read about linguistics, including several introductory books aimed at entry-level university students, and technical papers, with a focus on Austronesian languages. Having grown up in the Philippines, I was bilingual in English and Tagalog from an early age. By 2010, I was also somewhat familiar with Cebuano, and I have since become proficient in another Greater Central Philippine language, Central Palawano [ISO code plc]. All this to say that, while I was hardly ready to produce scholarly work on Eastern Tawbuid in 2010, I was in a better position to begin studying a barely-documented Philippine language than the average eighteen-year-old fresh out of high school.

I spent 2012 to 2015 studying at the University of Otago, where I received a BA Honours 1st class. Throughout this period, I would return to the Philippines every summer, and I would spend two to four weeks in Safa. During these visits, one of my primary goals was to become proficient in Eastern Tawbuid. Several people from Safa very kindly helped me during this time, none more so than **A**, a shopkeeper in her 30s who would sit outside her stall and talk to me in Eastern Tawbuid for hours at a time. Derek Daniels, an OMF missionary and Bible translator, was kind enough to provide me with his unpublished grammar notes on Western Tawbuid, which helped me a lot.

In my last year at the University of Otago, I wrote my Honours dissertation on the grammar of Eastern Tawbuid. Fieldwork for the dissertation consisted of a little over eight weeks, building on my prior study of the language and familiarity with the community. By the time I began my fieldwork, I was fluent in Eastern Tawbuid. I did not have to use Tagalog in my day-to-day life, and I could act as an interpreter for visitors to Safa who did not speak Tagalog or Eastern Tawbuid. As I had on previous visits

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[5] My admittedly localised experience contrasts with the impression given by the entry on Eastern Tawbuid in *Ethnologue* (Eberhard et al 2021), which classes the language as "endangered."

to Safa, I participated as much as possible in the daily life. I shared a house with several girls from the community, participated in community work parties and celebrations, attended church, and accompanied people to their swiddens and banana farms.

My dissertation was based on the following:

1. Approximately 3 hours of natural text recordings. These texts were from a range of genres, including narratives, hortatory texts, and short prose explanations of the meanings of traditional songs.
2. My own fieldnotes. These record naturally-occurring speech, which I observed during my visits to Safa.
3. Elicitation sessions, which were conducted on site. Elicitation was conducted in Eastern Tawbuid, although informants did often gloss words for me in Tagalog. Elicitation sessions consisted mainly of having the informant give examples of how she would use a form, paradigm filling, and discussing the text recordings as well as issues arising from them and my fieldnotes. During elicitation, I never got the informant to translate phrases or sentences from another language into Eastern Tawbuid, as I had already found that this would often result in the native speaker producing structures which were highly unnatural if not ungrammatical.

After completing my dissertation, I returned to the Philippines as a member of SIL. Since then, I have been based in Safa, where I continue to live today. Although my primary focus has not been further grammatical study, living here has enabled me to collect more data and to further deepen my understanding of Eastern Tawbuid. Altogether, my collection of transcribed natural texts and observed speech now comes to over fifty-two thousand words, and my personal proficiency in the language has further improved. Because of this increase in data and understanding, I have updated the grammatical description that I produced in 2015. Some sections (e.g. phonology) are relatively unchanged; others (especially the chapters on higher-level syntax) are significantly expanded. One chapter (verb class) is entirely new.

Many Eastern Tawbuid people have contributed to this grammar, both directly and indirectly. Although I cannot name the informants for reasons of privacy, I am very thankful to all of them for their contributions and for their patience in working with me. Deserving of special thanks are a mother and daughter, informants **B** and **C**. The mother, **B**, is a woman in her 70s, who has contributed more natural texts to my collection than any other informant. She is a talented, enthusiastic storyteller with an encyclopedic knowledge of traditional Eastern Tawbuid poems. Her liveliness and good humour have made transcription much less of a chore than it could have been. Her daughter, informant **C**, is a woman in her 50s. She was my primary informant during the period when I was still struggling to develop a coherent understanding of Eastern Tawbuid verbal morphology. She endured my interminable, repetitive questions with admirable patience. She was a kind, dedicated informant, and it was a privilege to work with her.

I would also like to thank all the people who looked at drafts of the dissertation, in whole or part, and gave me helpful suggestions. Special thanks go to Kemp Pallesen, who undertook to review this grammar amid the Covid-19 pandemic. Thanks also go to Lynn Frank and others at Global Publishing Services, SIL International for all their help with preparing the manuscript for publication. My dad, Graeme Fleming, was often the first person to read what I wrote and served as a sounding board for many of my ideas. All remaining errors are my own.

Another person whom I wish I could thank is my dissertation supervisor, Jae Jung Song, who passed away in 2017. Jae always pushed me to do the best job that I was capable of. He told me that I should try to get this grammar published – so I did.

2
Phonology

Eastern Tawbuid has a simple segmental phonology, with no typologically unusual phonemes and relatively few phonological alternations.

The suprasegmental phonology is interesting, although many phenomena (especially in the case of intonation) are not fully described here. Eastern Tawbuid has contrastive primary and secondary stress, which I mark throughout this chapter with an acute accent and a grave accent, respectively. Unlike most Western Malayo-Polynesian languages (Himmelmann 2005), Eastern Tawbuid permits some complex syllable structures.

In the following chapter, I begin by describing the segmental phonology (sections 2.1–2.2), followed by the suprasegmentals (sections 2.3–2.5), and then a description of observed morphophonological alternations (section 2.6). The chapter ends with an explanation of the practical orthography used for all Eastern Tawbuid examples given in the rest of this grammar (section 2.7).

2.1   Consonants

2.1.1   Consonant chart

The following table shows the consonant inventory of Eastern Tawbuid. A notable omission is a voiceless counterpart to /b/, although [p] does occur as an allophone of /f/.

Table 2.1. Consonants

	Anterior	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Voiceless stop		t		k
Voiced stop	b	d		g
Nasal	m	n		ŋ
Fricative	f	s		
Lateral		l		
Trill/Flap		r		
Glide	w		j	

Compared to the voiced alveolar phonemes, /t/ and /s/ are slightly fronted, tending towards a dentoalveolar articulation.

2.1.2   Realisation of consonant phonemes

2.1.2.1   Stops

All stops can occur in initial, medial, and final positions. Stops are unreleased when followed by other non-continuant consonants, but utterance-finally there is sometimes an audible release.[6]

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[6] In chapter 2, where phonology is in focus, there are free translations of the examples, without morpheme-by-morpheme glosses. The same is true of most of the examples in chapter 3, where word classes are in focus. The remainder of the book's chapters discuss various aspects of morphosyntax, so morpheme-by-morpheme glosses are given for each example in additon to the free translation.

/t/ voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop

> ➜ [t]

(1)   /táf/   [táp]   'count'
       /bátaŋ/   [bátaŋ] 'log'
       /ménit/   [ménit] 'day'

/k/ voiceless unaspirated velar stop

> ➜ [k]

(2)   /káyu/   [káyu]   'wood'
       /také/   [také]   'hand'
       /ulúk/   [ulúk]   'boil'

> ➜ [b]

(3)   /balé/   [balé]   'house'
       /ubí/   [ubí]   'yam'
       /lúb/   [lúb]   'type of wild banana'

/d/

> ➜ [d̥] partially devoiced before a voiceless consonant

(4)   /sudsúlatun/   [sud̥sulatún]   'full of holes'

> ➜ [d] elsewhere

(5)   /dán/   [dán]   'old (of things)'
       /sadí/   [sadí]   'one'
       /lód/   [lód]   'downriver/downland'

/g/

> ➜   [k] devoiced before a voiceless consonant

(6)   /gsúd/   [ksúd]   'is the same'
       /gfaádal/   [kfaádal]   'causes to study'

When /g/ occurs before a voiceless consonant but is preceded by a vowel, the devoicing is only partial:

(7)   /fadugsáj/   [fadug̊sáj]   'sibling'
       /igfabúl/   [ig̊fabúl]   'causes to get'

> ➜ [ɣ] ~ [g] varies with a voiced fricative in intervocalic position in rapid speech

(8)   /gugát/   [guɣát] ~ [gugát]   'always'

> ➜ [g] elsewhere

(9)   /gubá/   [gubá]   'riverbank'
            /bágu/   [bágu]   'new'
            /duŋúg/ [duŋúg] 'listen'

2.1.2.2   Nasals

All nasals can occur in initial, medial, and final positions. The nasals /m/ and /n/ have syllabic variants which will be dealt with in section .

/m/ voiced bilabial nasal

    ➜ [m]

(10)   /mujúd/ [mujúd] 'ridge'
          /áma/   [áma]   'man'
          /tanúm/ [tanúm] 'plant'

/n/ voiced alveolar nasal

    ➜ [n]

(11)   /nín/ [nín] 'that one'
          /iná/ [iná] 'woman'

/ŋ/ voiced velar nasal

    ➜ [ŋ]

(12)   /ŋájan/ [ŋájan] 'name'
          /tuŋúd/ [tuŋúd] 'above'
          /itáŋ/   [itáŋ]   'taro leaf'

The realisations listed above are complicated when a nasal is followed immediately by a non-homorganic stop. When the nasal and the stop are part of the same morpheme, the nasal is optionally assimilated to the same place of articulation as the stop:[7]

(13)   /ká-nbaŋ/ [kánbaŋ] ~ [kámbaŋ] 'bored'
          /úŋdan/   [úŋdan] ~ [úndan]   'stomach'

However, if there is a morpheme boundary between the nasal and the following stop, the nasal does not assimilate:

(14)   /um-dásug/ [umdásug] 'will arrive'
          /in-búŋle/   [inbúŋle]   'fainted'
          /in-gít/   [ingít]   'became tight'

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[7] This is not really a case of free variation, since in adults' careful production, the unassimilated form tends to occur. In fact, most of the native speakers whom I asked about this variation claimed that the assimilated forms sounded wrong, even though some of them had been noticed using these very forms themselves.

2.1.2.3   Fricatives

Fricatives can occur in initial, medial and final position. The status of [p] as an allophone of /f/ is somewhat problematic; see section 2.1.5 for a discussion of the relative merits of phonemic and allophonic analyses of this sound.

/f/ voiceless labiodental fricative

➔ [p] in syllable-final position

(15)   /táf/   [táp]   'count'
        /náfsug/ [náp.sug] 'became full'
        /jafjáf/ [jap.jáp] 'flap'

        and immediately before a morpheme boundary

(16)   /táf-an/ [tápan]   'number'
        /sáraf-i/ [sarápi] 'search!'

➔ [f] elsewhere

(17)   /fáfa/ [fáfa] 'served rice'

    Note that some speakers produce a bilabial fricative [ɸ] instead of [f].

/s/ voiceless alveolar fricative

➔ [s]

(18)   /sasá/   [sasá]   'type of wild banana'
        /bálus/ [bálus] 'answer'

2.1.2.4   /l/ and /r/

The liquids /l/ and /r/ cannot co-occur within the same word, except for Tagalog loanwords such as /tirisikíl/ 'motorcab'. In syllable-final position, /r/ is rare.

/l/ voiced alveolar lateral

➔ [l]

(19)   /ló/   [ló]   'go'
        /fulíd/ [fulíd] 'fall over'
        /búl/   [búl]   'get'

/r/ voiced alveolar trill/tap

➔ [r] ~ [ɾ] trill and tap in initial and medial positions.

(20)   /ródi/ [ródi] ~ [ˋɾodi] 'later'
        /ŋáro/ [ŋáro] ~ [ŋáɾo] 'as it turns out'

➔ [ɾ] tap in syllable-final position

(21)   /gargár/ [gaɾgáɾ] 'be phlegmy'

2.1.2.5   Glides

The glides /w/ and /j/ occur in initial, medial, and syllable-final position.

/w/ voiced labiovelar approximant

➔ [w]

(22)   /wáse/   [wáse]   'axe'
        /sáwad/   [sáwad]   'remnant'
        /siráw/   [siráw]   'monster'

/j/ voiced palatal approximant

➔ /j/

(23)   /jábas/   [jábas]   'breakfast'
        /mujúd/   [mujúd]   'ridge'
        /túj/   [túj]   'this'

2.1.3   Minimal pairs

The following minimal and near-minimal pairs establish the phonemic status of phonetically similar consonants:

/t/ - /d/   /talás/ 'jog up and down'   /dalás/ 'get food from a *dario* tree'
/k/ - /g/   /ku/ 1SG.GEN   /gú/ 'fingernail'
/m/ - /n/   /ma-/ adjective prefix   /na-/ verbal prefix
/n/ - /ŋ/   /fúnfun/ 'bushes'   /fuŋfúŋ/ 'tip'
/b/ - /w/   /balú/ 'be sad'   /walú/ 'eight'
/f/ - /s/   /fadí/ 'thank you'   /sadí/ 'one'
/t/ - /s/   /ta/ 1DU.GEN.INCL   /sa/ allative preposition
/d/ - /r/   /dakdák/ 'leftover rice grains' /rakrák/ 'guffaw'
/n/ - /r/   /tanúm/ 'plant'   /tarúŋ/ 'run'
/l/ - /r/   /lólo/ 'be loose'   /róro/ 'actually'
/l/ - /d/   /álad/ 'fence'   /ádal/ 'study'
/w/ - /u/   /waján/ 'middle child'   /uájan/ 'bamboo'
/j/ - /i/   /aj/ 'and'   /ái/ 'uncle'

2.1.4   Anticipatory nasalisation

Voiced stops are nasalised when they occur immediately before a nasal:

(24) /sugnúd/   [suŋnúd]   'go forwards'
      /egménit/   [eŋménit]   'yesterday'
      /tuŋúd mujúd/   [tuŋúnmujúd]   'top of the ridge'
      /dabdáb maraská/   [dabdámmaraska]   'red ant'

In these cases, the underlying phoneme is analysed as a stop because nasalisation does not occur in careful production. Therefore /ságmak/ 'beaten bark' would be produced by my informants as [sáŋmak] in fluent speech, but [sag.mak] when I asked them to say it syllable by syllable. This contrasts with sequences of two underlying nasal phonemes, where both consonants remain nasal even in careful production:

(25) /kámnad/ [kam.nad] 'become numb'

2.1.5 Alternation between [f] and [p]

The status of [p] as an allophone of /f/ is somewhat problematic, and an alternative analysis in which both are phonemes is also possible. This analysis is suggested by intervocalic instances of [p] before a morpheme boundary, which create at least one near-minimal pair:

(26) /táf-an/ [tápan] 'number'
/tafán/ [tafán] 'log ledge'

Since it is necessary to take morpheme boundaries into account to explain the distribution of [f] and [p], then it may be the case that the complementary distribution of these two sounds is not reflecting a synchronic alternation. If so, there would be a separate phoneme /p/ in Eastern Tawbuid.

Though this is possible, I have chosen to treat [p] as an allophone of /f/ for two reasons. One, speakers occasionally confound them, producing [f] where one would expect [p]. The example given above, /táf-an/, is sometimes produced as [táfan] by some speakers, and one speaker was observed to produce [saráfun] for /sáraf-un/ twice on one occasion. Speakers also occasionally produce [p] where [f] is expected, e.g. [pagajú] for /fagajú/. These unexpected occurrences of [p] and [f] are rare, but they do suggest that these sounds are somehow linked to each other.

Another reason why I am hesitant to treat /p/ as a separate phoneme is because in Tagalog loanwords which have become part of daily usage, instances of /p/ preceding a vowel are treated as /f/:

	Tagalog	Eastern Tawbuid	
(27)	/papel/	/fafíl/	'document'[8]
	/kape/	/kafí/	'coffee'
	/kapitan/	/kafitán/	'leader'
	/plato/	/falátu/	'plate'
	/piso/	/físu/	'peso'
	/sapatos/	/fátus/	'shoe'

Notice that Tagalog /p/ > Eastern Tawbuid /f/ occurs even in intervocalic position, as in the case of /kafí/. If Eastern Tawbuid did have a phoneme /p/ which could occur in intervocalic position, then this replacement would be surprising.

2.1.6 Glide epenthesis

When the high vowels /i/ and /u/ are immediately followed by a non-high vowel, an epenthetic glide occurs.

(28) /fía/ [fíja] 'truly'
/síad/ [síjad] 'to step on'
/tuá/ [tuwá] 'very'
/duá/ [duwá] 'two'

There are no instances of the high vowel /ɨ/ being followed by another vowel. Given its low rate of occurrence (see section 2.2.3), this is not particularly surprising.

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[8] Glosses are of the Eastern Tawbuid word, not the Tagalog one.

2.1.7 Glottal stop epenthesis

A glottal stop [ʔ] is optionally inserted between two vowels at a word or morpheme boundary:

(29) /ga-burú-un/ [gabùruʔún] 'snotty'
    /bilí-i/   [bilíʔi]   'buy!'
    /nà-ujwáj/   [nàʔujwáj]   'cried'
    /g-fa-alí aú/   [kfàʔalí ʔaú] 'I cause to dig'

Glottal stop epenthesis is more common in some speakers' production than in others, and even those speakers who insert glottal stops quite frequently are not entirely consistent.

2.1.8 Geminate reduction

Geminate consonant sequences optionally reduce to a single consonant:

(30) /fag-gugát/   [fàggugát] ~ [fàgugát]
    /ta-g-guyán/   [tàgguyán] ~ [tàguyán]
    /in-nánad/   [innánad] ~ [inánad]

This process also applies to sequences which become geminate as a result of allophonic devoicing (section 2.1.2.1) and anticipatory nasalisation (section 2.1.4):

(31) /ta-g-kwíntu/ [takkwíntu] ~ [takwíntu]
    /nu g-ŋájan/   [nuŋŋájan] ~ [nuŋájan]

No geminate consonants are attested in morphologically simple words.

2.2 Vowels

2.2.1 Vowel phonemes

Table 2.2. Vowel phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	(ɨ)	u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

No phonological alternations have been observed in Eastern Tawbuid vowels, although production of most vowels varies within a certain range. The high vowels /i/ and /u/ can be laxed, with production of /i/ ranging from [i] to [ɪ], and production of /u/ ranging from [u] to [ʊ]. The mid vowels range from mid to low-mid, with /e/ often being realised as [ɛ] and /o/ often as [ɔ]. The high central /ɨ/ is unstable in most informants' production and has here been classed as only a marginal phoneme (see section 2.2.3 for further discussion).

Vowel length *per se* is not contrastive, although vowels in stressed syllables can be longer than their unstressed counterparts.

2.2.2 Minimal pairs

The following minimal and near-minimal pairs establish the phonemic status of the six Eastern Tawbuid vowels:

/a/ - /i/	/dáŋdaŋ/ 'kind of banana'	/díŋdiŋ/ 'wall'
/a/ - /u/	/taráŋ/ 'to squat'	/turáŋ/ 'to kick'
/i/ - /u/	/síksik/ 'to drip'	/súksuk/ 'to hide'
/o/ - /u/	/malób/ 'humid'	/malúb/ 'facedown'
/o/ - /a/	/don/ 'leaf'	/dan/ 'former'
/e/ - /i/	/labé/ 'to burn'	/labí/ 'to be greater'
/e/ - /a/	/te/ quotative particle	/ta/ 1DU.GEN.INCL
/ɨ/ - /u/	/tɨŋɨ́d/ 'strength'	/tuŋúd/ 'above'
/ɨ/ - /i/	/di/ clitic; indicates desirability	/tɨ/ clitic; indicates minimal distance

2.2.3   Phonemic status of /ɨ/

By far the rarest vowel phoneme in Eastern Tawbuid is /ɨ/, occurring in less than twenty out of some two thousand morphologically simple words collected during fieldwork. Some older speakers produce /ɨ/ quite consistently, but for most speakers it varies with the other high vowels /i/ and /u/.

Words where /ɨ/ ~ /i/:

(32) /mádɨk/ ~ /mádik/ 'painful'
/tɨŋɨ́d/ ~ /tiŋíd/   'strength'

Words where /ɨ/ ~ /u/:

(33) /tágbɨt/ ~ /tágbut/   'big'
/arɨ́jarɨ́j/ ~ /arújarúj/   exclamation when a person is tired
/dalagɨ́n/ ~ /dalagún/   exclamation when a person is relieved
/baljaɨtán/ ~ /baljaután/   'method'
/tɨŋɨ́d/ ~ /tuŋúd/   'strength'[a]

[a] Note that this variation obscures the minimal pair /tɨŋɨd/ 'strength' ~ /tuŋúd/ 'above' that was given in section 2.2.2.

Words where no variation has been observed:

(34) /arɨ́sarɨ́s/ 'almost'
/tɨ/   clitic; marks a minimal distance in time, space, or degree
/tágkɨ/   'gecko'

Aside from these, /ɨ/ also occurs in several place names. In these, /ɨ/ varies with /u/:

(35) /tɨgɨ́f/ ~ /tugúf/
/kɨlbɨ́ŋ/ ~ /kulbúŋ/
/itɨsɨ́n/ ~ /itusún/

2.2.4   /a/ elision

/a/ is elided when it is followed by another non-high vowel:

(36) /ŋa-ajú/   [ŋajú]   'many'
/ma-églis/   [méglis]   'excessively loud'
/na-oján-an/ [nojánan] 'what made [someone] afraid'

This process applies across word boundaries:

(37) /wa/ 'not'   + /e/ 'exist'   = [we]

/ja/ 'not yet'   + /o/ 2SG.NOM   = [jo]

/tua/ 'fortunately' + /ému/ 2SG.ACC = [tuwému]

In some cases, glottal stop epenthesis (section 2.1.7) can block the application of this process:

(38) /ka-éga/ [kéga] ~ [kaʔéga] 'give up'

/fa-on/   [fón] ~ [faʔón]   'feed'

Note that /a/ elision does not affect the alternation between [f] and [p]:

(39) /fa-é/   [fé]   'cause to exist'

/ig-fa-até/ [igfáte] 'kill'

In minor word classes (see section 3.2), a word-initial /a/ may also be elided:

(40) /at/   [at], [t]   definite determiner

/am/ [am], [m] 2SG.GEN

2.3   Phonotactics

2.3.1   Syllables

Maximal syllable structure in Eastern Tawbuid is moderately complex, with the structure (C)(C)V(C)(C).
Syllabic consonants also occur, although they cannot be syllable nuclei. The possible syllable types are
illustrated below:

(41) V   [**e**]   existential predicate

CV   [g**o**]   question particle

CCV   [**kwe**]   1SG.NOM = NEG = EXIST

VC   [tá.**id**]   'trip up'

CVC   [**don**]   'leaf'

CCVC   [**gliŋ**. gát]   'looks'

VCC   [fàg.lak.ló.**ant**] place.of.going.out = the

CVCC   [sì.gi.**nánt**]   from = the

CCVCC   [**kwajs**]   1SG.NOM = {bad} = OBL

C   [**n**.ta.bú]   'finished'

Though complex syllables do occur, the vast majoriy of Eastern Tawbuid syllables are simple.
Consonant clusters in onsets and codas occur almost exclusively as the result of affixation and
cliticisation.[9] There also seems to be a preference to have the onset position filled, for example, glide and
glottal stop epenthesis create consonant onsets for many potentially onsetless syllables.

The following consonants are attested as the first consonant in onset clusters in Eastern Tawbuid: /t
k g s/. All consonants are attested as the second consonant in an onset cluster except for /g/ and /r/. The
checked boxes in table 2.1 show the non-suspect clusters attested in the natural texts and recorded
elicitation sessions:

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[9] The only morphologically simple words that contain consonant clusters are the word /kwa/ 'some' and three of the
oblique demonstratives, which begin with the clusters /st/ and /sn/ (see section 3.2.3).

Table 2.3. Onset position consonant clusters

		2nd consonant													
		t	k	b	d	g	m	n	ŋ	f	s	l	r	w	j
1st consonant	t														✓
	k								✓					✓	✓
	g			✓	✓					✓	✓	✓			✓
	s	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	

Some of the gaps in this table are probably incidental. Since [s]-initial clusters usually occur when the locative marker /s/ is phonologically proclitic to a consonant-initial lexeme, the non-attestation of *[sr] and *[sj] may simply be reflecting the paucity of /r/- or /j/-initial lexical roots. Likewise, [g]-initial clusters occur when a verb prefix /g-/ is attached to a lexical root beginning with a voiced consonant. Relatively few lexical roots occur with an initial /r/ or /w/, which is probably the reason for the non-attestation of *[gr] and *[gw] in my data.

Regardless, this table provides some interesting information about syllable structure in Eastern Tawbuid. Syllables are generally expected to rise to a peak of sonority, therefore consonants in onset clusters should be arranged in order of increasing sonority. Conformity to this principle is seen in the large number of licensed clusters where the second consonant is a glide. Since glides are the most sonorant consonants, a cluster formed from any other type of consonant followed by a glide will result in increasing sonority. The sequence /gl/ also follows the pattern of increasing sonority, as do the sequences /gf/ and /gs/,[10] although these last two sequences do not conform as well as the other sequences do since fricatives are only slightly more sonorous than stops.

However, some exceptions to the principle of increasing sonority occur. The treatment of [s]-initial clusters seems to be exceptional, with a wide variety of clusters licensed regardless of sonority.

Even more unusual are the stop clusters /gb/ and /gd/. Stops have the lowest sonority of any consonant type, making these clusters very unlikely, as they should be perceptually difficult to distinguish from single stops. Perhaps because of this, these clusters are rare in production, although some clear instances have been documented. The following example shows one speaker's careful production of /gbul/. Since the [g] is unreleased, there is no clear auditory boundary between [g] and [b], but note the relatively long period of voicing that precedes the vowel:

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[10] Note that in these sequences, the /g/ is devoiced (see section 2.1.2.1), so they are produced as [ks] and [kf].

(42)   [g   b   u   l   ]

| 0.443557 | 0.252439 (3.961 / s) | 0.695996 |
| 0.094072 | 0.252439 | 0.494577 |

0.349485   Visible part 0.841088 seconds   1.190573
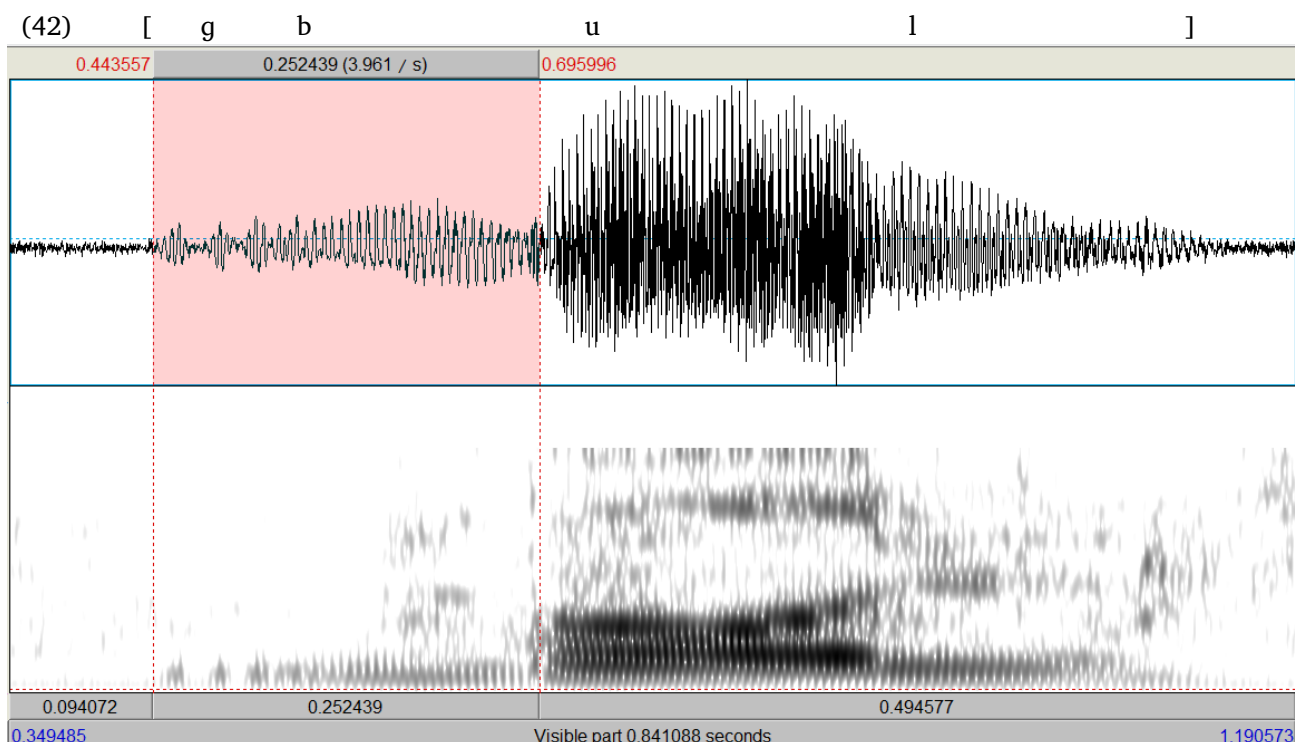
Consonant clusters in the syllable coda are not as common as those in syllable onsets. The only coda clusters which are clearly attested are /js/, /ns/, /jt/, /wt/, /nt/ and /ŋk/. In each of these, sonority decreases from the first consonant to the second.

2.3.2   Prosthetic [i]

Consonant clusters at the beginning of a morphological word are optionally broken up by a prosthetic [i]. This results in variation between cluster-initial and [i]-initial forms:

(43)   /sté/   'here'   [sté] ~ [is.té]
      /sná/   'there'   [sná] ~ [is.ná]
      /g-lóŋ/   'say'   [glóŋ] ~ [ig.lóŋ]
      /g-búl/   'take'   [gbúl] ~ [ig.búl]

The morphology treats prosthetic [i] as if it does not exist, so I do not analyse it as phonemic. For example, the affix <um> has the allomorph *m-* which occurs on vowel-initial roots (see section 2.6.3.1). If /sté/ were actually */isté/, one would expect the form *[misté] when this affix was added. However, what one gets is [stumé], which means that as far as the morphology is concerned, the first vowel in this root is the /e/.

2.3.3   Loanwords

Illicit onset clusters in loanwords are not broken up with a prosthetic [i], but rather with an epenthetic vowel. This vowel has the same quality as the next vowel in the word:

	Tagalog word	Eastern Tawbuid loan	
(44)	/trak/	/tarák/	'vehicle'
	/trajsikel/	/tirisikíl/	'motorcab'
	/plato/	/falátu/	'plate'

2.4   Stress

In Eastern Tawbuid, there are two levels of stress: primary and secondary stress. In this section, and throughout this chapter, I mark primary stress with an acute accent (á) and secondary stress with a grave accent (à).

2.4.1   Identifying stress

In the suprasegmental phonology of Eastern Tawbuid, some syllables are marked for stress. The effect of this marking is that, absent any confounding factors, the marked syllable will be pronounced in a way that gives it more auditory prominence than other, unmarked syllables. Usually, this means that the stressed syllable is louder than the unstressed syllables around it. Take the following sound file, which shows a native speaker's production of /sigánun/. The stressed syllable, /gá/, is strikingly louder than the other two syllables in the word:

(45)   [s   i   ɡ   á   n   u   n]

| 0.093097 | 0.156223 | 0.136995 |
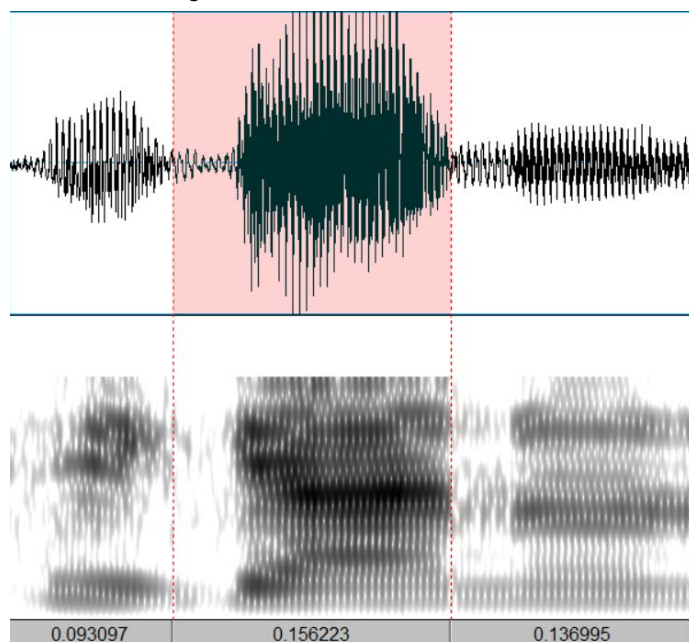
Aside from loudness, lengthening a syllable can also be part of the phonetic realisation of stress in Eastern Tawbuid. The sound file in example (46) shows a different native speaker's production of another word, /kadásug/. The unstressed syllable /ka/ is just as loud as the stressed syllable /dá/, but the stressed syllable is more than twice as long.

(46)   [k a   d   á   s   u   ɡ]
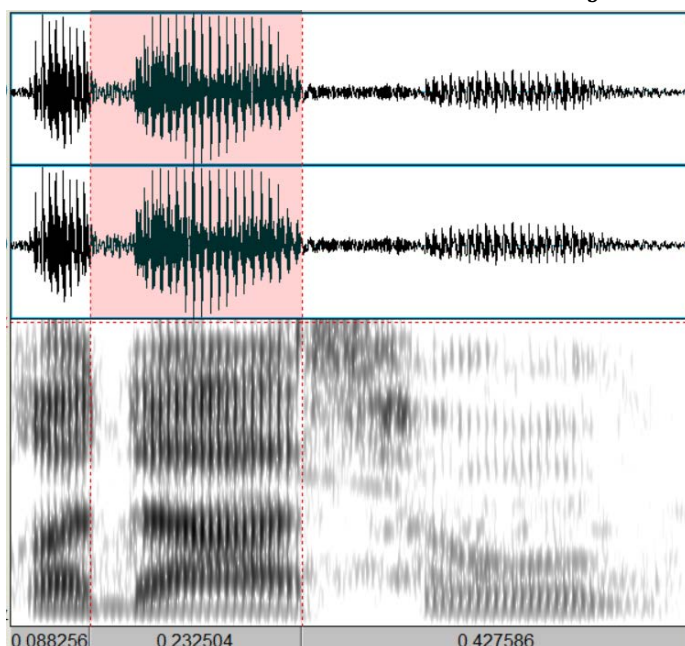
2.4.2   Minimal pairs

It is necessary to include stress marking in an account of Eastern Tawbuid phonology since stress is contrastive in this language. Stress does not fall regularly on a particular syllable of the prosodic word, and it cannot be reliably predicted from other phonological properties of a word. Rather, stress is part of the underlying phonological representation of a word, and minimal pairs of words differentiated only by stress exist. Some examples are given here.

(47) /sábi/   'basket'   /sabí/   'to slip off'
      /balábag/ 'to obstruct a path'   /balabág/ 'morning'
      /láman/   'so that'   /lamán/   'winnowing tray'
      /sása/   'crushed rice grains'   /sasá/   'kind of wild banana'

    Aside from word-level minimal pairs, there are also pairs of affixes that are distinguished from each other by stress marking alone. For example, the prefix /bà-/ is marked for stress, and forms adjectives referring to smells (section 4.3.3). If it were not for stress marking, this prefix would be homophonous with another prefix, /ba-/, which marks acquisition (section 4.5.2). As it is, they are distinguished by stress, and word-level minimal pairs can be formed with them, such as:

(48) /bàujáŋ/ 'smelling of fish'   /baujáŋ/ 'fish that [someone] has acquired'

2.4.3   Mismatches between phonemic and phonetic stress

While it is clear enough that phonemic stress exists in Eastern Tawbuid, the correlation between syllables that are phonologically marked for stress and syllables that are stressed in production is not one-to-one. There are complicating factors that can result in a syllable with phonological stress marking being produced without audible stress, or a syllable that is unmarked for stress being stressed. Some of these

complications have to do with the interplay between stress and intonation.[11] Others have to do with limits on where stress can occur within a prosodic word.

In Eastern Tawbuid, a prosodic word can contain two stressed syllables: a primary stress and a secondary stress. All prosodic words must contain a primary stress; the same is not true for secondary stress. In production, primary stress can only fall on the ultimate or the penultimate syllable of a prosodic word. This does not usually stop a syllable that is phonologically marked for primary stress from being pronounced with stress, since most of the time, these syllables are the last or second-to-last syllable of a prosodic word anyway. Take the root /lifúŋ/ 'cut', a verbal root whose last syllable is marked for stress. Like any other verbal root, /lifúŋ/ can take a range of affixes, but these affixes don't usually get in the way of the syllable /fúŋ/ being realised as stressed. If /lifúŋ/ takes a prefix, such as *g-*, then /fúŋ/ is the final syllable of the prosodic word; if it takes a suffix, such as *-i*, then /fúŋ/ is the second-to-last syllable. These just so happen to be the two syllables of the prosodic word that can be pronounced with stress, and therefore in either case, the syllable with phonological stress marking is also the phonetically stressed syllable.

(49) Root   + Affix = Phonetic realisation
  /li.fúŋ/ 'cut'   *g-*   [ig.li.fúŋ] 'cuts'
          -i   [li.fú.ɲi] 'cut!'

A different pattern of stress placement can be illustrated with the root /túlbu/ 'jump'. Like /lifúŋ/, /túlbu/ is a verbal root, but unlike /lifúŋ/, its second-to-last syllable is marked for stress.[12] This is not a problem if /túlbu/ only takes a prefix, since in this case the stress-marked syllable /túl/ is the penultimate syllable of the word, and therefore can be stressed in production. But if /túlbu/ takes a suffix, such as *-i*, then /túl/ becomes the third-to-last syllable of the word (the prepenultimate syllable) and this syllable cannot be pronounced with primary stress. The result of this would be *[túl.bu.i], which is not a permissible word in Eastern Tawbuid prosody. Instead, in the phonetic realisation of /túlbu-i/, primary stress ends up falling on the suffix, while /túl/ is pronounced with secondary stress:

(50) Root   + Affix = Phonetic realisation
  /túl.bu/ 'jump'   *g-*   [ig.túl.bu] 'jumps'
          -i   [tùl.bu.í] 'jump!'

The phonetic realisation of /túlbu-i/ as [tùl.bu.í] makes a lot of sense. Primary stress must fall on the ultimate or penultimate syllable, but there is no such restriction for secondary stress. Secondary stress is therefore a way for the stress-marked syllable in the root to be pronounced with stress. The placement of primary stress on the suffix /-i/ may seem more surprising, but since every prosodic word in Eastern Tawbuid must carry a primary stress, either the syllable /bu/ or the syllable /i/ had to be stressed. Assigning primary stress to /bu/ would result in a stress pattern only distinguishable from the one in the second line of example (49) by secondary stress. Assigning primary stress to /i/ allows for the maximum contrast between roots like /túlbu/ and roots like /lifúŋ/.

The pattern that I have illustrated here with /lifúŋ/ and /túlbu/ holds more generally for roots with stress marking attached to either the penultimate or the ultimate syllable. The overarching rule is not that a root with penultimate stress gives rise to affixed words with penultimate stress, and likewise for roots with ultimate stress. Rather, when suffixes are involved, the opposite happens: suffixed words based on roots with ultimate stress have penultimate stress, while suffixed words based on roots with penultimate stress have ultimate stress. Therefore, I prefer to think of stress in Eastern Tawbuid as

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[11] For example, there is an intonation pattern used primarily for scolding children that involves lengthening the second-to-last syllable of a phrase and pronouncing this syllable with a dramatic high-low pitch. This intonation pattern has the side-effect of making the second-to-last syllable of a phrase phonetically stressed and the last syllable phonetically unstressed, regardless of what kind of phonological stress marking these syllables have.

[12] I say 'second-to-last' rather than 'first' syllable since the principle being illustrated here applies to roots of more than two syllables.

something that is tethered to individual syllables, while at the same time being subject to phonological processes that are sensitive to prosodic word boundaries.

As examples (49) and (50) illustrate, the suffix *-i* can be either stressed or unstressed in production, depending on the placement of stress marking in the root that *-i* attaches to. This is because the suffix *-i* has no inherent stress marking; whether it receives stress or not is entirely predictable from other factors. There are, however, other suffixes that are marked for stress. The characteristic suffix *-un* (section 4.2.2) is one such suffix. When this suffix attaches to a root, the resulting word is pronounced with primary stress on the suffix, regardless of which syllable in the root is marked for stress:

(51) Root   +   Affixes[13]   =   Phonetic realisation
     /gumú/ 'be weak'   *g- fa- -un*   [ig.fa.gu.mu.ʔún] 'acts weak'
     /fégus/ 'wash'   *g- fa- -un*   [ig.fa.fe.gu.sún] 'washes thoroughly'

The presence of a stress-marked suffix obscures the difference between a root like /gumú/ with stress marking on the final syllable and a root like /fégus/ with stress marking on the second-to-last syllable. As was the case in example (50), this imperfect correspondence between underlying phonlogical stress marking and the actual stress in production is the result of prosodic restrictions on primary stress. Only one syllable per prosodic word can receive primary stress, but when a suffix like /-ún/ attaches to a root like /gumú/, the result is a word with phonological primary stress marking on two syllables. In situations like this, Eastern Tawbuid speakers ignore the stress marking on the root and pronounce the word as if only the suffix had primary stress marking.

In short, suffixation in Eastern Tawbuid often gives rise to cases where a word is pronounced with stress that does not perfectly match the underlying phonological stress marking of the word. Most of these cases can be explained as the result of the underlying stress marking clashing with limits on stress placement and co-occurrence. There are, however, cases of suffixed words receiving stress marking that cannot be explained either in terms of phonological stress marking or general prosodic constraints on stress placement.

To illustrate this, take the root /tarábaŋ/. There is good reason to think that the penultimate syllable of this root is marked for stress. Why else would this syllable regularly be stressed when /tarábaŋ/ takes prefixes?

(52) Root   +   Affix   =   Phonetic realisation
     /ta.rá.baŋ/ 'help'   *g-*   [ig.ta.rá.baŋ]   'helps'
                         nà-   [nà.ta.rá.baŋ]   'helped'

However, when suffixes attach to /tarábaŋ/, it does not behave like a root with stress marking on its penultimate syllable. See what happens when the suffix *-i*, which is unmarked for stress, attaches to /tarábaŋ/:

(53) Root   +   Affix   =   Phonetic realisation
     /ta.rá.baŋ/ 'help'   *-i*   [ta.ra.bá.ŋi]   'help!'

This is completely different to what normally happens when roots with stress marking on the penultimate syllable take a suffix that is unmarked for stress. The regular pattern, illustrated with /túlbu/ in example (50), is for primary stress to shift to the suffix and for the stress-marked syllable in the root to take secondary stress. If /tarábaŋ/ followed this pattern, then we would get *[ta.rà.ba.ŋí]; but instead, we have primary stress on /ba/, and no stress at all on /rá/ or /ŋi/.

This unexpected stress placement is not limited to cases where /tarábaŋ/ takes a suffix that is unmarked for stress. The same thing happens when /tarábaŋ/ takes a suffix that is marked for stress, like the suffix *-un*:

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[13] The *-un* suffix cannot be used by itself to form a freestanding morphological (or prosodic) word, which is why the forms used in these examples also have prefixes.

(54)	Root	+	Affixes[14]	=	Phonetic realisation
	/ta.rá.baŋ/ 'help'		*ga-* *-un*		[ga.ta.ra.bá.ŋun] 'wants to help'

As example (51) illustrates, the normal pattern when a stress-marked suffix attaches to a root is for that suffix to be pronounced with primary stress. The *-un* suffix regularly overrides the primary stress marking on the root it attaches to. But in the case of /tarábaŋ/, the *-un* suffix is pronounced without stress. Primary stress instead falls on the syllable /ba/, which is the same syllable that unexpectedly received stress in example (53).

As examples (53) and (54) illustrate, the complex rules that describe the placement of stress in suffixed forms don't apply to /tarábaŋ/. Instead, the placement of stress when /tarábaŋ/ takes a suffix follows a single, simple rule: stress the penultimate syllable. This rule applies not just to /tarábaŋ/, but to every root with a closed final syllable containing the vowel /a/. These roots can have ultimate or penultimate stress when they are unsuffixed, but when they are suffixed, the resulting word always has penultimate stress.[15]

Taken as a whole, the data I have summarised here suggests two things about the Eastern Tawbuid stress system. One is that stress marking is phonemic. Stress marking (or the absence thereof) is part of the underlying phonological representation of syllables. If this were not the case, there would be no way to explain the existence of minimal pairs in examples (47) and (48), or the variation in stress placement that result from different roots taking the same suffixes. At the same time, however, the data also suggests that there is far more to stress placement in Eastern Tawbuid than phonological stress marking. Intonation, prosodic constraints on stress placement, and phonologically-conditioned exceptions like the one I illustrated with /tarábaŋ/ all regularly override the underlying stress marking of a word. Phonemic stress is just one part of the multifaceted system that determines stress placement in this language.

2.5   Intonation

A wide variety of intonational contours have been observed in recorded Eastern Tawbuid texts. This short description does not attempt to do justice to the full system of intonation, but rather to highlight some of the basic differences in intonation between indicative and interrogative utterances. Examples in this section are given in the orthography outlined in section 2.7.

Indicative sentences tend to have a relatively low pitch which falls gradually. Within longer indicative sentences, non-final phrases tend to end on a slight rise, whereas the final phrase tends to end on a fall. These pitch patterns are all illustrated in example (55), which consists of a few phrases from 'The Leaf-Cape' story in the Appendix. Example (55d) shows the basic falling-pitch pattern common in sentences that consist of a single prosodic phrase. Examples (55a, b) show the pitch rise common in non-final phrases, while (55c) shows how this pitch rise is absent from the final phrase of the sentence.

(55) a. *gina unu faŋautun fag luŋud*
       'In the time of the hauling-season

    b. *laman at ŋay siganun unu ŋani*
       umm the lowlanders like I said

---

[14] In "Morphology" (ch. 4), I treat the affix combination *ga-* *-un* as a circumfix, albeit an unusual one (see section 4.4.2.5). Phonologically, however, the *-un* formative in *ga-* *-un* is indistinguishable from the suffix *-un,* which is why I treat them as interchangeable here.

[15] There are some other phonologically-conditioned exceptions to the rules for stress placement in suffixed forms, but these are so rare that I am not confident that I could describe them accurately. The exception for roots that end in a closed syllable with an /a/ is by far the most common in this group.

c. *an ayu daw igyabulun dawdaw maŋyan*
    were all very much trying to get Mangyan'.

d. *ŋayayu wa unu at nalo*
    'She had gone a long way.'

Polar questions are characterised by a relatively high pitch for most of the question with a sharp drop toward the end of the question:

(56)

go gkwintu kyay gugat
'Shall I keep telling stories?'

2.6   Morphophonology

2.6.1   Vowel diffusion

The mid vowels /e/ and /o/ undergo alternations when they immediately precede a suffix having the form /-an/. Different lexemes undergo different alternations. In some lexemes, the rule is that /e/ goes to /aj/ while /o/ goes to /aw/:

	Without suffix		With suffix	Realisation	
(57)	/difé/	'cross (a river)'	/difájan/	[difájan]	'river crossing'
	/sákbo/	'enter'	/sakbáwan/	[sakbáwan]	'entranceway'

In other lexemes, the mid vowel becomes high. This alternation always results in glide epenthesis:

	Without suffix		With suffix	Realisation	
(58)	/até/	'die'	/matián/	[matiján]	'dead'
	/saŋbó/	'veil/hat'	/saŋbuán/	[saŋbuwán]	'to wear a veil/hat'

In trying to determine why these two different kinds of vowel diffusion occur, I considered whether the kind of vowel diffusion that a stem undergoes depends on which /-an/ suffix has attached to it. There are numerous morphemes in Eastern Tawbuid with the form /-an/ (see section 4.1), and I wondered whether different morphemes with the same surface phonological form might result in different kinds of vowel diffusion. The evidence, however, is that the type of vowel diffusion that a lexeme undergoes is determined by the lexeme itself, not by the suffix. For example, the following two roots take the same suffix (introduced in section 4.5.3.8), but undergo different kinds of vowel diffusion:

	Without suffix		With suffix	Realisation	
(59)	/láklo/	'go out'	/lakluán/	[lakluwán]	'place one goes out to'
	/sákbo/	'enter'	/sakbáwan/	[sakbáwan]	'entranceway'

In the speech of many younger speakers, vowel diffusion does not occur, or occurs only inconsistently.

2.6.2 Irregular [k] roots

Eastern Tawbuid has many vowel-initial roots which, when prefixed with a form that ends in /g/, trigger devoicing of the /g/. This is illustrated below for a couple of roots with the prefix *g-*, as well as an unprefixed form for comparison:

	Root		+	Affix	=	Phonetic realisation	
(60)	/ón/	'eat'		*g-*		[kón]	'eats'
				-i		[óni]	'eat!'
	/alí/	'dig'		*g-*		[kalí]	'digs'
				-i		[alíʔi]	'dig!'

I will be referring to roots such as these as 'irregular [k] roots'. They contrast with regular vowel-initial roots, with which the final /g/ of a prefix remains voiced:

	Root		+	Affix	=	Phonetic realisation	
(61)	/ádal/	'study'		*g-*		[gádal]	'studies'
				-i		[adáli]	'study!'

They also contrast with regular /k/-initial roots, which begin with a [k] whether they take a /g/-final prefix or not:

	Root		+	Affix	=	Phonetic realisation	
(62)	/kafí/ 'coffee'			*g-*		[igkafí]	'drinks coffee'
				-i		[kafíʔi]	'drink coffee!'
	/kanráw/ 'make a monkey noise'			*g-*		[igkanráw]	'makes a monkey noise'
				-i		[kanráwi]	'make a monkey noise!'

2.6.3 Allomorphy

This section examines the phonologically-conditioned changes to affixes which occur in Eastern Tawbuid. For a discussion of these affixes' functions, the reader is referred to chapter 4.

2.6.3.1 *<um>*

The verb infix *<um>* (section 4.4.2.1) normally occurs before the first vowel of the root:

	Root		Form with *<um>*	
(63)	/lág/	'to see'	[lumág]	'will see'
	/sáli/	'to pay'	[sumáli]	'will pay'

In vowel-initial roots, *<um>* obligatorily takes the form /m-/ and is treated as the syllable onset:

	Root		Form with *<um>*	
(64)	/ífut/	'defecate'	[mí.fut]	'will defecate'
	/úli/	'go home'	[mú.li]	'will go home'

In roots with an initial anterior obstruent (/b/ or /f/), *<um>* takes the form *N-*. In other words, instead of gaining an infixed syllable, these roots swap out their initial anterior consonant for an anterior nasal:

	Root		Form with *<um>*	
(65)	/báya/	'rebuke'	[máya]	'will rebuke'
	/faníŋ/	'follow'	[maníŋ]	'will follow'

2.6.3.2 *in-*

Before vowel-initial roots, the verb prefix *in-* (section 4.4.2.1) normally takes the form /ink-/. For some roots, this varies with /n-/:

	Root		Form with *in-*	
(66)	/átat/	'be dry'	[inkátat]	'dried'
	/éga/	'go off something'	[inkéga]	'went off something'
	/álfas/	'escape'	[nálfas] ~ [inkálfas]	'escaped'

Before consonant-initial roots, the prefix *in-* takes the form /in-/:

(67)	/dásug/ 'arrive'	[indásug]	'arrived'
	/sájab/ 'scorch'	[insájab]	'scorched'

The initial vowel of *in-* is often elided:

(68)	/dásug/ 'arrive'	[indásug] ~ [ndásug]	'arrived'
	/fanúd/ 'be satisfied'	[infanúd] ~ [nfanúd]	'satisfied'

This elision gives rise to many of the syllabic nasals in Eastern Tawbuid, for example:

(69)	/é nbúl/	[é.n̩.búl]	'someone was taken'

2.6.3.3 *um-*

The verb prefix *um-* (section 4.4.2.1) undergoes a similar set of alternations to *in-*. When prefixed to a vowel-initial root, it takes the form /umk-/:

(70)	/úli/ 'go home'	/umkúli/	'will manage to get home'
	/átis/ 'cold'	/umkátis/	'will get cold'

When prefixed to a consonant-initial root, it takes the form /um-/:

(71)	/balú/ 'be sad'	/umbalú/	'will be sad'
	/dásug/ 'arrive'	/umdásug/	'will arrive'

As in the case of *in-*, the vowel in *um-* tends to elide, and the remaining nasal consonant is often syllabic:

(72)	/wá mlaŋfé/	[wá.m̩.laŋ.fé]	'will not escape'

2.6.3.4 *naN-*

The prefixes *naN-* and *faN-* show similar alternations. The verb prefix *naN-* (section 4.4.2.3) takes the form /naŋ-/ before vowels:

	Root	*naN*- prefixed form	
(73)	/ajájag/	/naŋajájag/	'going to go for a stroll'
	/ét/	/naŋét/	'going to ask for'

and /nan-/ before consonants:

(74)	/búl/	/nanbúl/	'going to get'
	/fójuŋ/	/nanfójuŋ/	'going to teach'
	/tábug/	/nantábug/	'going to herd'
	/jáwa/	/nanjáwa/	'going to chop weeds'

2.6.3.5   *faN-*

The various prefixes with the form *faN-* can generally be accounted for by the same morphophonological rule.[16] Before a vowel, *faN-* always takes the form /faŋ-/:

	Root		Affixed form	
(75)	/áut/	'haul'	/faŋautún/	'hauling season'
	/almátuk/	'leech'	/faŋalmátuk/	'look for leeches'
	/áwat/	'make'	/faŋawátun/	'way of making'
	/úsad/	'chop rice plants'	/faŋusádun/	'rice chopping season'

Before a velar consonant, *faN-* can be either /faŋ-/ or /fan-/:

	Root		Affixed form	
(76)	/kemkém/	'clear one's throat'	/tagfankemkém/	'the one that makes a throat-clearing noise'
	/gámas/	'make a clearing'	/faŋgamásun/ ~ /fangamásun/	'clearing season'

Before an anterior obstruent (/b/ or /f/), the final nasal in *faN-* can coalesce with the following consonant, resulting in the form /fam-/. Coalescence is optional, however, and when it does not occur, *faN-* takes the form /fan-/:

	Root		Affixed form	
(77)	/filí/	'pili nut'	/nanfanfilí/	'going to gather pili nuts'
	/fójuŋ/	'teach'	/gfanfójuŋ/	'habitually teaches'
	/fuán/	'fell (a tree)'	/famuánun/	'felling season'
	/balé/	'house'	/tagfamalé/	'the one who makes a house'

In other environments, *faN-* takes the form /fan-/:

	Root		Affixed form	
(78)	/dón/	'leaf'	/gfandón/	'gathers leaves'
	/táf/	'read'	/fantáf/	'read habitually'
	/sáli/	'pay'	/fansáli/	'payment'
	/lunús/	'be hungry'	/fanlunús/	'famine'
	/jaŋó/	'deadwood'	/fanjaŋói/	'gather deadwood!'

---

[16] See sections 4.2.6, 4.2.7, 4.4.2.8.1, and 4.5.3.9 for descriptions of the functions of different affixes with the form *faN-*.

As examples (77) and (78) show, prefixes with the form *faN-* do not usually coalesce with a following alveolar consonant. An exception, however, is the prefix *faN-* which means 'language of X'. In this prefix, the final nasal coalesces with a following alveolar consonant:

	Root		Affixed form	
(79)	/sigánun/	'lowlander'	/fanigánun/	'Tagalog'
	/táw buíd/	'upriver person'	/fanáw buíd/	'upriver people's language'

In the cases where *faN-* is followed by an anterior consonant, an additional coalescence rule can apply. When a coalesced form /fam-/ is preceded by a velar-final prefix such as *g-*, /fam-/ can coalesce with the velar, resulting in the form /kam-/:

	Velar-final prefix	+ *faN-*	+ root		Resulting form	
(80)	*g-*	+ *faN-*	+ /balé/	'house'	[kamalé]	'makes a house'
	g-	+ *faN-*	+ /fón/	'give'	[kamón]	'habitually gives'
	ta-g-	+ *faN-*	+ /fójuŋ/	'teach'	[takamójuŋ]	'teacher'

Coalescence of /fam-/ with a preceding velar is not obligatory, however. Compare the forms listed below, which show coalescence of *faN-* with the following anterior obstruent, but not with the preceding prefix:

	Velar-final prefix	+ *faN-*	+root		Resulting form	
(81)	*g-*	+ *faN-*	+ /faníŋ/	'follow'	[ikfamaníŋ][17]	'is obedient'
	ta-g-	+ *faN-*	+ /fójuŋ/	'teach'	[takfamójuŋ]	'teacher'

Note that [takfamójuŋ] in the second line of example (81) has the same morphology as [takamójuŋ] in the third line of example (80). The difference is that one has only undergone nasal coalescence, whereas the other has undergone both nasal and velar coalescence.

Nasal and velar coalescense are both optional for *faN-*, and the relationship between these two is implicational. Nasal coalescense can occur without velar coalescence, but not vice versa. Therefore, forms are attested which show no coalescence (e.g. [kfanfójuŋ]), nasal coalescense only (e.g. [tagfamójuŋ]), and both types of coalescence (e.g. [takamójuŋ]), but no forms show only velar coalescense (*[kanfójuŋ] or *[takanfójuŋ]).

2.6.3.6 CVd- -an

The circumfix *CVd- -an*, which is used to indicate iterative or reciprocal action (section 4.4.2.8.4), contains the only productive example of partial reduplication in Eastern Tawbuid. The '*CV-*' part of this affix indicates that the first consonant and vowel (in other words, the first mora) of the root is to be reduplicated. Reduplication is extremely common among western Austronesian languages, and reduplication of a single mora or syllable is particularly common among the languages of the Philippines (Himmelmann 2005). What is unusual, however, about this kind of reduplication in Eastern Tawbuid is that a /d/ is added on after the reduplicated CV, providing a coda for the reduplicated syllable:

	Root		Affixed form	
(82)	/lag/	'see'	[nà-ladlágan]	'saw one another'
	/rabíŋ/	'hang'	[ig-radràbingán]	'hanging off one another'

Since /d/ is partially devoiced when it occurs immediately before a voiceless consonant (see section 2.1.2.1), when *CVd- -an* attaches to a root that begins with a voiceless consonant, devoicing occurs:

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[17] The [i] in this form is prosthetic (see section 2.3.2).

(83) /fon/ 'give'   [fòd̥fonán-i] 'give one another'

If *CVd- -an* attaches to a vowel-initial root, then the first vowel of the root is reduplicated, without a consonant. (This suggests that the rule is really 'reduplicate the first mora', not 'reduplicate the first CV.') The /d/ is still added on after the reduplicated vowel, but this is then followed by yet another consonant, /g/. The result is that in vowel-initial roots, *CVd-* takes the form [Vdg-]:

(84) /alín/ 'move dwelling'   [g-adgalínan] 'moving dwelling repeatedly'

However, if the vowel-initial root to which *CVd- -an* is attached is an irregular [k] root (section 2.6.2), the [g] that one would normally expect at the end of the prefix becomes a [k] instead; so, with these roots, *CVd-* becomes [Vdk-]. An example of this can be given with /asé/, which is an irregular [k] root:

(85) /asé/ 'laugh'   [nà-adkasíjan] 'laughed at one another'

What is remarkable about the interaction between *CVd- -an* and irregular [k] roots is that the reduplicated syllable formed by the *CVd-* prefix retains the root's ability to trigger a /g/ > [k] shift. If a /g/-final prefix precedes *CVd-* on an irregular [k] root, then one might think that the *CVd-* prefix would 'insulate' the /g/-final prefix from the effect of the irregular [k] root, in which case the /g/ would be realised as [g]. However, this is not the case. Even with *CVd-* intervening, the irregular [k] root still triggers the /g/ > [k] shift:

	Root		+	Affixes	=	Phonetic realisation
(86)	/asé/	'laugh'		*g- CVd- -an*		[k-àdkasíjan] 'laughing at one another'

CVd- -an often co-occurs with the affix *a-*, which marks non-agentive verbs (see section 4.4.2.8). The *CVd-* prefix treats *a-* like a kind of 'irregular [k] prefix'. When followed by *a-*, *CVd-* takes the form /Vdk-/. And as the second example below shows, if a /g/-final prefix precedes *CVd-* and *a-*, then that prefix also undergoes the /g/ > [k] shift:

	Root		+	Affixes	=	Phonetic realisation
(87)	/fánju/	'pity'		*CVd- a- -an -i*		[adkafànjuwán-i] 'have pity on one another'
	/lúfuj/	'tire'		*g- CVd- a- -an*		[k-adkalùfuyán] 'feeling tired here and there'

There are at least a couple of otherwise regular verbal roots on which the /d/ in *CVd- -an* is instead a /j/:

	Root		Affixed form
(88)	/bálus/	'answer'	[nà-bajbalusán] 'answered one another'
	/aló/	'accompany'	[ajgàluwán-i] 'went with one another'

There are multiple phonological and morphophonological processes at work in the example using /aló/. Since the root begins with a vowel, a /g/ is added to the end of the prefixed form. Meanwhile, the addition of an *-an* suffix triggers vowel diffusion (section 2.6.1), causing the final /o/ of the root to shift to [u]. This in turn triggers glide epenthesis (section 2.1.6).

2.7   Orthography

In this chapter, I have been writing Eastern Tawbuid words using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). For the remainder of this grammar, however, I will be using an orthography based on the practical orthography developed by Reed and Reed (1990).

In Reed and Reed's orthography, most graphemes have their IPA values. Exceptions are /j/, which as in many practical orthographies is written with a *y*, and /ɨ/, which is written with a *v*. The

correspondence is generally at the phoneme level. The only allophonic alternation which is consistently reflected in the orthography is the alternation between [f] and [p].

Reed and Reed's orthography writes the velar nasal /ŋ/ with a digraph *ng*. The use of this digraph creates an ambiguity between /ŋ/ and /ng/; for example, *ingurungan* stands for /inguruŋan/, with the first *ng* representing two phonemes and the second functioning as a digraph. However, all instances of /ng/ which I am aware of occur across a morpheme boundary; for example, /inguruŋan/ is the root *guruŋan* 'become' with the perfective non-agentive prefix *in-*. Therefore, in an analytic text such as this one where morpheme divisions are indicated by a hyphen, the use of the digraph should not create any genuine ambiguity. Nevertheless, I have decided not to use the digraph in this grammar, instead writing /ŋ/ as *ŋ*. Likewise, I write /ɨ/ as *ɨ*. I do, however, write /j/ as *y* since I expect that this departure from IPA will not cause confusion for most readers.

In Reed and Reed's orthography, epenthetic glides are unwritten, except for cases when the vowel following the glide is in the final syllable of a root, and that syllable is open. In this grammar, I have decided to write none of the epenthetic glides.

The following chart illustrates the main differences between IPA phonemic and phonetic renderings, Reed and Reed's practical orthography, and the orthography used in this description.

Table 2.4. Comparison of IPA and orthographic renderings

Phonemic representation	Phonetic realisation	Reed and Reed	This description
/tiŋɨd/	[tiŋɨd][a]	tvngvd	tiŋɨd
/fáfnu/	[fapnu]	fapnu	fapnu
/suad/	[suwad]	suad	suad
/tua/	[tuwa]	tuwa	tua
/jud/	[jud]	yud	yud

[a] The phonetic production of /ɨ/ varies between speakers (see section 2.2.3).

Another orthography issue concerns stress. Reed and Reed's orthography does not mark stress, and for the most part I have followed this. I do, however, mark stress on affixes where secondary stress creates a minimal pair (see section 2.4.2). In these cases, I use a grave accent (ˋ) to indicate that an affix is morphologically marked for stress. This is to avoid creating the impression that there are even more homophonous affixes in Eastern Tawbuid than is really the case.

3
Word Class

3.1 Major word classes

Like many Austronesian languages, Eastern Tawbuid forms its major word classes from lexical roots which can be affixed in a variety of ways. Most roots in Eastern Tawbuid are disyllabic:

(89) *bale*   'house'
    mamam 'drinking water'
    seud   'cook (v)'
    laŋfe   'pass (v)'

However, there are also some monosyllabic roots, such as:

(90) *on*   'eat'
    lag 'see'
    fun 'tree, trunk'
    dan 'old (of things)'

There are also some trisyllabic roots, such as:

(91) *alfuyu* 'head'
    daluap 'hand'
    batsio 'spark'
    talete 'move along a narrow thing'

A few roots of four syllables have been recorded, many of these involving a frozen *-anan* suffix:

(92) *useganan* 'rejoice'
    arimanan 'go slowly'
    baginawa 'spider'

3.1.1 Nouns and verbs

One clear (syntactic) test for whether a word is a noun is whether it can function as the head of a noun phrase. In Eastern Tawbuid, the head of a noun phrase can be preceded by a determiner and/or take modifiers attached with one of the two linkers (see section 5.1). If this is not true of a word, then it is not a noun.

A word can be a noun in Eastern Tawbuid because it has nominalising morphology, but some roots appear to be inherently nominal. The following shows a few roots functioning as the heads of noun phrases with the indefinite article (see section 5.1.1):

	Root		Noun Phrase	
(93)	*lalid*	'root'	*sik lalid*	'a root'
	fiso	'bushknife'	*sik fiso*	'a bushknife'
	muyud	'ridge'	*sik muyud*	'a ridge'

By contrast, some roots require noun-deriving affixes to occur as the heads of noun phrases, e.g.:

	Root		Noun Phrase	
(94)	*ali*	'dig'	*sik ali-an*	'a hole'
	tap	'count, to read'	*sik tap-an*	'a number, a letter'

Given this, one can say that some roots in Eastern Tawbuid are nouns, while others are not. There are, however, many roots which function quite comfortably both as nouns and as verbs:

	Noun Phrase		Verb	
(95)	*sik futus*	'a bundle'	*ig-futus*	'bundle'
	sik baltak	'a half'	*ig-baltak*	'cut in half'
	sik danyu	'song'	*ig-danyu*	'sing'
	sik babay	'a hammock'	*ig-babay*	'swing in a hammock'
	sik igaŋ	'a fire'	*g-igaŋ*	'blaze'
	sik fagbulun	'job'	*ig-fagbulun*	'work'

I do not know whether the verbs in these cases should all be considered derivations from nouns, or whether the roots should be considered 'precategorial' (along the lines of Foley's 1998 proposal for Philippine-type languages).

The issue is complicated by the difficulty of proving that any root in Eastern Tawbuid is a verb. Verbs in careful production are always affixed,[18] and these affixes are derivational. The non-agentive affixes in particular (section 4.4) are capable of deriving novel verbs from nouns, including loanwords:

	Noun		Non-agentive verb	
(96)	*siganun*	'lowlander'	*ka-siganun*	'become like a lowlander'
	alas dus	'two o'clock'	*ka-alas dus*	'become two o'clock'

Another complicating factor is that many affixes appear to have functions with both nouns and verbs. The prefix *faN-*, for example, can derive nouns from seemingly verbal roots, verbs from seemingly nominal roots, and verbs from seemingly verbal roots.

However, there are times when a distinction between nominal and verbal roots is helpful. For example, the affix used to derive adversative verbs from roots that normally function as verbs is a different affix to the one used to derive adversative verbs from roots that normally function as nouns. (see sections 4.2.1.3 and 4.2.2). For this reason, in the following chapters, I will sometimes refer to nominal and verbal roots, but the reader should be aware that this is something of an *ad hoc* distinction, which may or may not be supported by a more in-depth analysis of Eastern Tawbuid grammar.

Above the root level, in affixed forms, the line between nouns and verbs is clearer. There is morphology that is limited to noun phrases, including dedicated morphology for nominalising verbs (see section 4.5.3).

3.1.2 Adjectives

Adjectives are a separate word class in Eastern Tawbuid. Adjectives can take comparative and intensifying affixes (sections 4.3.4 to 4.3.6) that nouns and verbs do not take. However, there are only a few roots that can function as adjectives without any derivational morphology (section 4.3) and can therefore properly be considered adjectival roots. The remaining adjectives are derived from nominal and verbal roots.

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[18] In unattended production, speakers sometimes produce verbs without any affixes, but if a native speaker's attention is drawn to this, they will 'correct' it with an affixed form and/or claim that the affixed and unaffixed forms mean the same thing. I suspect that these are phonologically-motivated elisions since the affixes that tend to get dropped are the less sonorous ones. For example, the imperfective agentive prefix *g-* gets dropped from time to time, but I have yet to find a case where the perfective agentive *nà-* is dropped.

3.2 Minor word classes

This section discusses some of the minor word classes in Eastern Tawbuid. A few word classes are not discussed here, because they fit more naturally into a section on syntax:

- The plural word will be described in chapter 5.
- Adpositions will be discussed in chapter 6.
- Conjunctions, subordinators, and other words involved in combining clauses will be discussed in the relevant sections of chapter 10.

3.2.1 Adverbs

Eastern Tawbuid has a set of temporal adverbs:

(97) *ebi*   'in the past' (yesterday and any time before it)
    aro   'earlier on the same day'
    katsi 'now/today'
    rodi   'later on the same day'
    bandi 'in the future' (tomorrow onwards)

Eastern Tawbuid also has a set of epistemic adverbs:

(98) *labon*   'maybe'
    undain 'maybe'
    roro   'actually, unexpectedly'

Semantically, there is a lot of overlap between adverbs and the second-position clitics described in section 3.2.14, but these two minor word classes are syntactically distinct. Although there are temporal and epistemic second-position clitics, these are subject to restrictions on ordering and co-occurrence that do not affect adverbs (see section 9.4.1). For example, second-position clitics cannot be the first word of a clause, while adverbs can. The word *roro* 'unexpectedly' frequently occurs in clause-initial position, as in example (99), so I classify it as an adverb. The word *bangan* 'mostly true' never does. It occurs seventy-seven times in my text collection, but never as the first word of a clause. Therefore, I group =*bangan* with the other second-position clitics, even though it is semantically similar to the epistemic adverbs.

The glosses of the second-position clitics in examples (99), (100), and (101) are all enclosed in braces { }, as are all glosses of non-pronominal second-position clitics through the rest of this book. The purpose of the braces is to indicate that these glosses are functioning differently to the glosses on different word types. For example, the second-position clitic glossed '{good}' in example (161) is not semantically equivalent to the adjective glossed 'ADJ-be.good' in example (158). The adjective is used to attribute goodness to people, objects, events, etc., whereas the second-position clitic glossed '{good}' is used when the speaker has a positive attitude towards what they are saying. See section 3.2.14 for more explanation of how second-position clitics function in Eastern Tawbuid, as well as the choices I have made in how to gloss and translate them.

(99) *roro*   *sik degan an*   =*yay e*   *baga*   =*sirut*
    unexpectedly DET log   DISCP {still} EXIST ember {small}
    'It turned out that a tiny bit of one log was still burning.'

Adverbs can also be modified by second-position clitics. For example, the temporal adverb *bandi* 'in the future' can be modified by second-position clitics to communicate more fine-grained temporal distinctions:

(100) *bandi*   =*daw*
      in.the.future   {sudden}
      'in the very near future'

(101) *bandi*   =*ban*
      in.the.future   {future}
      'in the distant future'

3.2.2   Existential predicate

Western Austronesian languages often have specialised predicates for referring to the existence or non-existence of entities (Himmelmann 2005). These predicates are often quite distinct from verbs, and therefore analysed as being a special class of 'existential predicates'. In some languages, however, these predicates are more verb-like (Himmelmann 2005), and Eastern Tawbuid falls into this latter group. While the existential predicate in Eastern Tawbuid has some features which set it apart from verbs in general, it also participates in some verbal morphology.

    The existential predicate in Eastern Tawbuid has the form *e*, or *ke* when it is nominalised:

(102) *e*   *talus*
      EXIST   taro
      'There is taro'

(103) *at*   *k-e*   *faŋati*
      DET   NMLZ-EXIST   trap.bird
      'the one who had a trap bird'

    There is no negative existential predicate; *e* takes the same set of negators as do verbs and adjectives:

(104) *sik*   *ama* *w*   *e*   *maŋena*
      DET man NEG EXIST wife
      'A man didn't have a wife.'

(105) *wa*   =*mi*   =*baŋan*   *e*   *fa-k-on-un*
      NEG 1PL.NOM.EXCL {mostly.true} EXIST NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-eat-NMLZ
      'We sort of didn't have any food.'

(106) *laman*   *rodi*   *di*   *e*   *loŋ-an*
      so.that   later NEG EXIST say-NMLZ
      'so that later there isn't something said'

    The existential predicate also takes some verbal morphology. For example, it can take non-agentive verb affixes:

(107) *at*   *k-ink-e*   *na-saful*
      DET NMLZ-PFV;NAGT-EXIST NMLZ-know
      'the one who gained something which is known'

(108) *mk-e*   *bilug*
      PROJ;NAGT-EXIST tuber
      'will come to have a [grown] tuber'

It can also take the causative prefix *fa-*:

(109) *g-f-e*   *masuad*
      IPFV;AGT-CAUS-EXIST   content
      'ascribes meaning' (lit. 'causes there to be content/meaning')

(110) *g-f-e*   *luŋud*
      IPFV;AGT-CAUS-EXIST   time.period
      'makes time'

Despite these morphological similarities, there are important syntactic differences between the existential predicate and verbs. These are sketched in section 9.3.

3.2.3   Demonstratives

Eastern Tawbuid demonstrative pronouns encode a three-way distance contrast.

Table 3.1. Demonstrative pronouns

	Direct	**Oblique**
Proximal	*tuy*	*ste, stie*
Visible	*nin*	*sna*
Distal	*ka, kanya*	*snay, sanya*

Proximal demonstratives are used to refer to objects that the speaker is touching, or that are within arm's reach. They are also used of locations that the speaker is physically present in:

(111) *mon*   =*au*   *emu*   *tuy*   *fag*   *buadan*
      PROJ;AGT:give 1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC DEM.PROX   LNK   fruit
      'I am going to give you this fruit.' (of a fruit that the speaker is about to toss at the hearer)

(112) *tuy*   *fag*   *fafil*
      DEM.PROX   LNK   document
      'this document' (of a booklet that is within arm's reach of the speaker)

(113) *an*   =*way*   *e*   *n-bul*   =*wan*   *ste*
      DISCP   {bad}   EXIST PFV;NAGT-take {already}   DEM.PROX.OBL
      'Someone has passed away in here.' (of a house that the speaker had just walked into)

The visible demonstratives are used of objects and locations that are out of arm's reach, but still visible to the speaker:

(114) *alebuŋ*   *kata*   *nin*   =*yaŋay*
      kind.of.bat   like   DEM.VIS   {repeat}
      'An *alebuŋ* bat is similar to that [bat].' (of a dead bat hanging across the room from the speaker)

(115) *isna*   *fag*   *muyud*
      DEM.VIS.OBL   LNK   ridge
      'It's on that ridge.' (of a ridge that is visible to the speaker)

Distal demonstratives are used of objects and locations that are out of arm's reach – a definition which includes a wide range of distances. For example, the same demonstrative, *snay* is used in example (116) of a spot just out of sight, and of the edge of the world in example (117):

(116) *snay*   =*way*   =*daw*   *s*   *fun*   *diŋdiŋ*
        DEM.DIST.OBL {just   immediate} OBL base wall
        'Just over there at the bottom of the wall.' (of a location on the opposite side of a nearby wall)

(117) *tuy*   =*daw*   *tam*   *daga* *fag-yud-un*   *ka-buras*   =*ay*
        DEM.PROX {big}   1PL.GEN.INCL land NMLZ-NEG-NMLZ IPFV;NAGT-spill {reason}

        snay   *s*   *tigyaŋan* *e*   *biul*   =*tua* =*daw* *sik* *yaw*
        DEM.DIST.OBL OBL edge   EXIST border {good big}   DET python
        'The reason why the whole world doesn't fall apart is because there at the edge there is a giant python which acts as a border.'

    Distal demonstratives tend to be used for objects and locations that are out of sight, but there is some overlap between their use and the use of the visible demonstratives. In the following example, the same distal demonstrative that was used in examples (116) and (117) of out-of-sight locations is used of a location that is definitely in sight:

(118) *ay*   *snay*   *ku*   *daga*
        and   DEM.DIST.OBL 1SG.GEN area.below

        ma-sine   =*way*   =*ŋap* *nu*   *ka-bantay*
        ADJ-be.beautiful {very1 very2} SUB IPFV;NAGT-look.from.distance
        'And way down there, it is such a beautiful sight to see.' (said by a character in a story who is gazing down from the top of a cliff)

    The oblique demonstratives can be used as verbs:

(119) *st\<um\>e*
        \<PROJ;AGT\>DEM.PROX.OBL
        'will come here'

(120) *nà-sanya*
        PFV;AGT-DEM.DIST.OBL
        'went there'

    In this sense, oblique demonstratives are like prepositional phrases, which can also be verbalised (section 6.8). This is not the only affinity between oblique demonstratives and prepositional phrases; section 6.7 describes how oblique demonstratives often behave as if they have a subsumed preposition.

3.2.4   Pronouns

Eastern Tawbuid personal pronouns distinguish between first, second, and third person. As is typical of Austronesian languages (Cysouw 2013), there is a distinction between inclusive and exclusive first-person pronouns. The Eastern Tawbuid system is of the kind which is often called 'minimal-augmented,' where a dual exists only in the first-person inclusive (Cysouw 2013). The result of this is that, if one considers 1st person inclusive as a separate person intermediate to 1st and 2nd person, there is a two-way number distinction in three of the persons: 1st person singular contrasts with 1st plural exclusive; 1st + 2nd person dual contrasts with 1st + 2nd person plural; and 2nd person singular contrasts with 2nd person plural. This kind of system is common in Philippine languages (see Liao 2008).

    In contrast with these careful distinctions of number and clusivity for 1st and 2nd persons, the 3rd person receives very little morphological marking in Eastern Tawbuid. There is no number distinction in 3rd person, and there is no overt 3rd person nominative pronoun, although the distal demonstrative

kanya (section 3.2.3) sometimes serves this function. Zero-anaphora is also quite common in the 3rd person accusative, although in this case an overt pronoun does exist. The 3rd person genitive pronoun also functions as the definite article.

Eastern Tawbuid has three sets of personal pronouns: nominative, accusative, and genitive. The following table lists all the personal pronouns:

Table 3.2. Personal pronouns

	Nominative	Accusative	Genitive
1SG	*au, (a)k*	*aŋku*	*ku*
1PL.EXCL	*ami*	*emi*	*em*
1DU.INCL	*ita, ta*	*anta*	*ta*
1PL.INCL	*itam, tam*	*antam*	*tam*
2SG	*o*	*emu*	*am*
2PL	*am*	*ayu*	*ay*
3	*Ø*	*Ø, anya*	*at*

While Philippine languages commonly have three sets of pronouns, it should be noted that there are important morphosyntactic differences between how these three sets are used and how similarly-labelled sets are used in better-known Philippine languages such as Tagalog. The most notable difference concerns the genitive pronouns. In Eastern Tawbuid, these are used only to mark possession on a noun phrase, while in better-known languages of the central Philippines, these pronouns also function as clausal arguments.

The following three sections give an overview of how each set of pronouns is used.

3.2.4.1 Nominative pronouns

Nominative pronouns are used when the pronoun is the subject of the clause, or when the pronoun is the topic in a topic-comment structure (section 10.1).

Subject pronouns are second-position clitics rather than freestanding noun phrases. To illustrate this, take examples (121) to (124). Examples (121) and (122) show the verb *nàlo* with a full NP as the subject. This subject NP can come before the verb, as in example (121), or after, as in example (122). But when the subject is a pronoun, the word order is not flexible: the subject must follow the verb, as in example (123).[19] Altering the clause so that the subject precedes the verb, as in example (124), results in ungrammaticality.

(121) *ay   talanan nà-lo   =wan   fag-ayu*
     and   family   PFV;AGT-walk {already} QUANT-many
     'And the whole family left.'

(122) *ay   rodi   nà-lo   =wan   talanan*
     and   later PFV;AGT-walk {already} family
     'And later, the family left.'

---

[19] The more precise description is that the subject pronoun must follow the first predicate element, which in this case is the verb. In the ordering within a predicate, verbs are preceded by negators (section 3.2.10) and the discourse particle (section 3.2.11). If these are present, the subject pronoun follows them instead. See section 9.4.2 for a diagram of intra-predicate ordering, and section 9.4.1.2 for a more detailed description of the placement of second-position clitics.

(123) *nà-lo*   =*ami*
      PFV;AGT-walk   1PL.NOM.EXCL
      'We went.'

(124) *ami   *nà-lo*
      1PL.NOM.EXCL   PFV;AGT-walk

Save for some vowel elision (section 2.2.4), most nominative pronouns in second position are not affected by the presence of other clitics. The exception to this is the 1st person singular pronoun, which takes the forms =*au* or =*(a)k* depending on what clitics it co-occurs with. When it occurs without any other clitics present, it is =*au*:

(125) *naŋ-alo*   =**au**   *emu*
      INTENT;IPFV-[AGT]-go.with   1SG.NOM   2SG.ACC
      'I'd like to go with you.'

When it co-occurs with a clitic which normally occurs towards the end of the clitic series, it also takes the form =*au*. For example, when there are multiple clitics in a clause, the clitic =*dawdaw* 'much' normally occurs towards the end of the series (see section 9.4.1.1), hence the 1st person singular nominative pronoun is =*au* when it co-occurs with =*dawdaw*:

(126) *ka-limu*   =**au**   =*dawdaw*
      IPFV;NAGT-be.afraid   1SG.NOM   {much}
      'I was very afraid.'

However, when the 1st person singular nominative pronoun co-occurs with a clitic which normally comes near the beginning of the clitic series, it takes the form =*(a)k*. The clitics =*wan* 'already' and =*way* 'bad' occur near the beginning of the clitic series (see section 9.4.1.1), and so the 1st person singular nominative with these clitics is =*(a)k*:

(127) *k-ate*   =**k**   =*wan*
      IPFV;NAGT-die   1SG.NOM   {already}
      'I'm dying!'

(128) *an*   =**ak**   =*way*   *naŋ-eloŋan*
      DISCP   1SG.NOM   {bad}   INENT-[AGT]-speak
      'I am only going to speak.'

Aside from their function as the subject pronoun, nominative pronouns are also used for the topic in a topic-comment structure (see section 10.1). When this happens, the cliticised subject pronoun still occurs, even if the topic and the subject have the same referent:

(129) *ami*   *si*   *s*   *Biyirnis*   *nà-lo*   =*w*   =*ami*
      1PL.NOM.EXCL   LOC   OBL   Friday   PFV;AGT-walk   {already}   1PL.NOM.EXCL
      'We, on Friday we went.'

For most pronouns, the clitic form is the same as the noun phrase form, but there are a few exceptions. In the case of first-person inclusive pronouns, the forms *ita* and *itam* occur only as noun phrases, while =*ta* and =*tam* occur only as clitics.

3.2.4.2   *Accusative pronouns*

Accusative pronouns are used when the pronoun is the object of the clause:

(130) *ay ku   mina   nà-falaŋ   aŋku*
    and 1SG.GEN mother PFV;AGT-hit 1SG.ACC
    'And my mother hit me.'

They can function as the subsumed noun phrase of a prepositional phrase:

(131) *sa   emi   =baliwa*
    ALL 1PL.ACC.EXCL ADE
    'towards us'

In possessed noun phrases, accusative pronouns are used to indicate contrastive possession (see section 5.2.4 for examples). They are also used as possessive pronouns when there is no accompanying possessed noun:

(132) *aŋku   sa   =way sad safa*
    1SG.ACC ALL {bad} OBL river
    'Mine is in the river.'

When the possessive pronoun occurs together with a possessed noun (e.g. 'my house'), a genitive pronoun is used.

3.2.4.3   Genitive pronouns

Genitive pronouns are used exclusively for marking possession:

(133) *em   fare*
    1PL.GEN.EXCL rice
    'our rice'

Unlike nominative and accusative pronouns, genitive pronouns in Eastern Tawbuid are never used as standalone noun phrases, and they never function as the argument of a clause. They can only occur in a specific position within a possessed noun phrase. Section 5.2 gives a description of word order within possessed noun phrases, with extensive examples.

The role that genitive pronouns play in Eastern Tawbuid is very different to the role of genitive pronouns in better-known languages of the central Philippines, such as Tagalog. In these languages, the same set of pronouns that mark possesion within a noun phrase also frequently mark an argument of a finite verb. For example, in the following Tagalog clause, the same pronoun, *namin*, is used for the agent of the action and the possessor of an object:

(134) *ini-labas   =namin   ang mga bag namin*
    CONVEYANCE.FOCUS/VOICE-come.out 1PL.GEN.EXCL NOM PL bag 1PL.GEN.EXCL
    'We brought out our bags.'

In a similar Eastern Tawbuid clause, the genitive is used for the possesor, but not for the agent. The pronoun referring to the agent is in the nominative case:

(135) *nà-fa-sure   =w   =ami*
    PFV;AGT-CAUSE-appear {already} 1PL.NOM.EXCL

    em   ambag fag-ayu   fag-ayu
    1PL.GEN.EXCL bag   QUANT-be.many QUANT-be.many
    'We showed [them] absolutely all our bags.'

The difference in the range of function of genitive pronouns between Eastern Tawbuid and the better-studied languages of the central Philippines is connected to a more profound, morphosyntactic difference between Eastern Tawbuid and these other languages.[20]

3.2.5 Linkers

Eastern Tawbuid has two linkers: *fag,* which links most modifiers with nouns, and *k,* which links modifiers referring to quantity with nouns:

(136) *ma-saful-an fag taw*
     ADJ-know-RES LNK person
     'knowledgeable person'

(137) *tulu k taw*
     three LNK person
     'three people'

When the presence of the linker *k* would create an unlicensed consonant cluster (see section 2.3.1), speakers elide it. Compare examples (138) and (139). In (138), the presence of the *k* linker would result in the consonant cluster *[kt], so the linker is elided. But in (139), where the same number is linked to a different noun, the *k* linker is present due to the different phonological environment.

(138) *ufat Ø taw*
     four [LNK] person
     'four people'

(139) *ufat k afud*
     four LNK section
     'four sections'

3.2.6 Numbers

Despite the prevalence of Tagalog-based education in Safa, Eastern Tawbuid numbers are still the primary counting system in daily usage. The Eastern Tawbuid counting system is used even in domains not associated with traditional culture, such as commerce, church, and calendar time. The following are the Eastern Tawbuid cardinal numbers up to ten:

1. *sadi*
2. *dua*
3. *tulu*
4. *ufat*
5. *lima*
6. *unum*
7. *fitu*
8. *walu*
9. *siam*
10. *safulu*

Numbers in the teens are usually formed by the word *labi* 'extra':

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[20] See section 8.1.2 for an explanation of this difference, which relates to how the subject of a clause is selected.

11. *labi sadi*
12. *labi dua*
13. *labi tulu*
…
19. *labi siam*

The decades are formed by modifying the word for 'ten' with a number connected by the quantity linker:

(140) *dua   k   safulu*
    two   LNK   ten
    'twenty' ('two tens')

(141) *tulu   k   safulu*
    three   LNK   ten
    'thirty' ('three tens')

Numbers in the hundreds and thousands are formed similarly, using the base *sandan* 'hundred' and *libu* 'thousand':

(142) *lima   k   sandan*
    five   LNK   hundred
    'five hundreds'

(143) *dua   k   libu*
    two   LNK   thousand
    'two thousands'

Numbers that are not round can be formed simply by adding on the additional places, without a linker:

(144) *fitu   k   safulu   fitu*
    seven   LNK   ten   seven
    'seventy-seven'

(145) *sandan   ufat*
    hundred   four
    'a hundred and four'

The system outlined so far is the one which is most used in present-day Safa. As Reed and Reed (1990:2) noted, however, there is some variation in the way in which numbers over ten are formed. Numbers in the teens can also be formed on the base *safulu*, and numbers over twenty that are not round can also be expressed using the word *labi* 'extra' or the existential predicate (section 3.2.2). The result of this is that numbers in the teens and numbers over twenty are formed in basically the same way:

(146) *safulu   labi   lima*
    ten   extra   five
    'fifteen' ('ten, five extra')

(147) *walu   k   safulu   labi   walu*
    eight   LNK   ten   extra   eight
    'eighty-eight' ('eight tens, eight extra')

(148) *tulu   k   safulu   e   ufat*
     three   LNK   ten   EXIST   four
     'thirty-four' ('three tens, there are four')

I found this system of forming large numbers to be relatively rare in current usage in Safa.

    Ordinal numbers are formed by adding a prefix *fa-* to the cardinal numbers:

1st   *fa-sadi*[21]
2nd *fa-dua*
3rd   *fa-tulu*
4th   *fa-ufat*

3.2.7   Quantifiers

Quantifiers are formed with the prefix *fag-*:

(149) *fag-ayu*
     QUANT-be.many
     'all'

(150) *fag-daul*
     QUANT-be.big
     'whole'

(151) *fag-dua*
     QUANT-two
     'both'

    This prefix can be productively attached to numbers to form quantifiers, e.g. *fag-safulu* 'all ten of them.'

3.2.8   Interrogatives

Interrogatives in Eastern Tawbuid are a partially open class. There is a closed set of underived interrogatives, but there is also a way to derive interrogatives pertaining to degree.

    The polar interrogative is expressed by the sentence-initial interrogative particle *go*. Occasionally, *go* also occurs at the beginning of non-polar interrogative sentences.

    The following are the remaining underived interrogatives in Eastern Tawbuid:

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[21] Though native speakers accept *fasadi* as valid, in natural conversation, it is not the most common way to express the idea of 'first'. Much more common is *taguna,* a nominalisation of a verb formed on the root *guna* 'to go ahead (of something/someone else)'.

taw, nataw, takanya	what
sinu	who
dada	where
inday	which (not visible), where
inda	which (visible)
ginain	when
seduge	how long (referring to time)
(se)tain	how (referring to method)[22]

Conspicuously missing from this set is a form for 'why'. Questions about reason are formed in Eastern Tawbuid by using a word for 'what' in conjunction with a *fag- -un* nominalisation (see section 4.5.3.4):

(152) *taw*   *=siriŋ*   *fag-ma-biat-un*
      what   {wonder}   NMLZ-ADJ-be.heavy-NMLZ
      'Why on earth is it so heavy?' (or more literally, 'What on earth is its reason for being heavy?')

Interrogatives referring to degree are derived with the prefix *se-*. For example:

    seyu   how many (from the root *ayu* 'be many')
    se-yayu how far (from the root *yayu* 'be far')
    se-tiŋid how extremely (from the root *tiŋid* 'be extreme')

3.2.9   Imperatives

While commands are typically formed with verbs, there is a small, closed set of specialised imperative predicates:

(153) *bas*   *=tam*
      go;IMPV 1PL.NOM.INCL
      'Let's go!'

(154) *bay*   *=o*
      go;IMPV 2SG.NOM
      'Go!'

(155) *iaŋku*   *am*   *fiso*
      give.me;IMPV 2SG.GEN knife
      'Gimme your knife!'

These specialised imperatives are different from verbs because they don't take verb affixes. They also differ from modal verbs (section 3.2.12) because they form a complete predicate in their own right, whereas a modal verb cannot.

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[22] These last two appear to have originally been derivations with the *se-* prefix. However, I am classing them with the underived interrogatives. There is no productive root **duge* in Eastern Tawbuid, although it does seem to be frozen in the subordinator *kaduge* 'while'. Likewise, *tain* only occurs as an interrogative, so the *se-* prefix appears to be vacuous, at least in current usage.

3.2.10   Negators

3.2.10.1   Phrasal negator

For negation within a noun phrase, Eastern Tawbuid uses the negator *(g)yud.* In the following example, it negates a substantive adjective (see section 5.1.5.1):

(156) *at   yud   ma-sine*
       DET   NEG   ADJ-be.good
       'what is not good'

This negator is also used in some subordinate clauses (see section 10.7).

3.2.10.2   Basic clausal negators

The following comprise the basic clausal negators in Eastern Tawbuid. Most negators have an optional initial *d-*:

Table 3.3. Basic clausal negators

	In main clauses and some subordinate clauses[a]	In temporal-conditional subordinate clauses headed by *nu*
Default	*(d)wa*	*(d)way*
Anticipatory	*(d)ya*	*(d)yay*
Fortuity	*di*	*gdi*

[a] Refer to section 10.7 for a breakdown of negation in subordinate clauses.

The default negators are the most common negators, and communicate basic negation:

(157) *ka   fag   maŋena wa   g-yawa*
       DEM.DIST LNK   woman   NEG   IPFV;AGT-weed
       'That woman doesn't weed.'

(158) *nu   dway   ma-sine*
       if   NEG   ADJ-be.good
       'if it isn't good'

The anticipatory negators communicate that something is or was not yet true:

(159) *sadi k   ina   =unu   ya   nk-ate*
       one   LNK   woman   {hearsay} NEG   PFV;NAGT-die
       'They say one woman had not yet died.'

The use of the fortuity negators has to do with speaker attitude. If a speaker wants to emphasise that they think it is a good thing that something is not true, then they use a fortuity negator:

(160) *di   =ban   =o   ga-faliŋun-an*
       NEG   {future} 2SG.NOM   IPFV;ADVERS-mistreat-RES
       'You won't be mistreated.'

(161) *nu g-tanum   =tu   =am   di   =am   kamul*
      if   IPFV;AGT-plant {good} 2PL.NOM NEG 2PL.NOM IPFV:HABIT:[AGT]:take
      'If you plant, you don't steal.'

In cases where a fortuity negator would be expected because of the semantic content of the sentence, speakers sometimes reject the use of default negators, or claim that using these negators would imply that the speaker thinks this situation is *un*fortunate. For example, I was corrected for saying the following:

(162) ! *ku   usena wa   ga-dailan*
        1SG.GEN friend NEG IPFV;ADVERS-illness
      ! 'My friend is not sick'

This apparently implied that I wished that my friend would get sick. Instead, I was told to say:

(163) *ku   usena di   ga-dailan*
      1SG.GEN friend NEG IPFV;ADVERS-illness
      'My friend is not sick' (and that's a relief)

One could argue that the negators I refer to as 'default' are a set of negators for when speakers think that something is unfortunate. However, it seems likely that the default negators are unmarked, or at least less marked than the fortuity negators, since native speakers sometimes use the default negators in cases where the speaker has a positive attitude towards what they are saying. For example, take the following sentence:

(164) *wa   =loŋ   =ro   m-uli   tam   fuyu*
      NEG {emphatic uncertain} PROJ;AGT-go.home 1PL.GEN.INCL youngest.sibling
      'Our youngest sibling surely won't come home.'

This was said in a story by a group of siblings who had just successfully stranded their youngest brother up a tree and were evidently happy that he wouldn't be coming home. Aside from this, some other cases have been observed of default negators being used when the speaker appears to have a neutral-to-positive attitude towards what they are saying:

(165) *katsi =loŋ   =ban   w   e   ga-labi-an   ku   maŋena*
      now {emphatic future} NEG EXIST IPFV;ADVERS-be.more-RES 1SG.GEN woman
      'From now on there will be no one who is jealous of my wife.'
      (said by a character in a story who has just gotten rid of all his rivals)

(166) *laman =ro   m   iba   butan wa   k-ate*
      so.that {irrealis} 2SG.GEN fellow.one pig   NEG IPFV;NAGT-die
      'so that your fellow people's pigs won't die'
      (explaining why one shouldn't take a dead pig to a different village)

Examples such as these show that default negators can be used when the speakers have a positive attitude towards what they are saying. It therefore seems reasonable to conclude that fortuity negators are the marked choice.

3.2.10.3 Serial negator - bun

The serial negator *bun* never occurs on its own; it is always followed by one of the basic clausal negators.[23] If a predicate noun phrase is being negated, this negator is obligatory:

(167) *kanya   bun wa ku   mama ay   bun wa ku   mina*
      DEM.DIST NEG NEG 1SG.GEN father and NEG NEG 1SG.GEN mother
      'They are not my father and not my mother.'

Predicate verbs and adjectives, on the other hand, can be negated with a basic negator alone (see above). If a verb or an adjective is being negated, *bun* is only used to mark contrastive negation:

(168) *bun di   =am   =gugatgugat naŋ-et*
      NEG NEG 2PL.NOM {always}   IPFV;INTENT-[AGT]-request

      an   =tu   =am   kamon
      DISCP {good} 2PLNOM IPFV:HABIT:[AGT]:give
      'You won't always be going and requesting things, but rather you will be habitually giving.'

3.2.10.4 Negative imperatives

Still other negators are used in negative imperatives.

Table 3.4. Negators used in negative imperatives

	Default	Gentle
Basic	*lag*	*daŋay*
Standalone	*lagi*	*daŋadi*

These negators vary slightly in form depending on whether they are negating a clause that already contains a predicate. If the clause has a predicate (usually a verb) that would be a complete predicate without the negator, then a basic negator is used:

(169) *lag   k-on*
      NEG;IMPV IPFV;AGT-eat
      'Don't eat [it].'

(170) *daŋay   =ayuayu g-ayayag*
      NEG;IMPV {many}   IPFV;AGT-wander
      'Don't all go wandering.'

However, if the negator itself functions as the predicate, then a standalone negator is used:

(171) *lagi   t   alay*
      NEG;IMPV DET small
      'Not the small ones!'

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[23] As the table in section 3.2.10.2 shows, many of the basic clausal negators have an optional initial *d-*. This *d-* is never present when a basic clausal negator co-occurs with *bun*.

(172) *daŋadi*   =*loŋ*   *ku*   *taya*
       NEG;IMPV   {emphatic}   1SG.GEN   half.coconut.shell
       'Please not my coconut shell!'

Syntactically, the basic negative imperatives behave like any other negator; they occur in the same position within the predicate. The standalone negative imperatives, however, are more like the imperative predicates described in section 3.2.9, in that both form a complete predicate, without co-occuring with anything else.

Aside from syntactic considerations, negator choice in negative imperatives is influenced by register and age. Younger speakers use the pair of negators that I have labelled 'default' almost to the exclusion of any other forms. Older speakers perceive *lag* and *lagi* as blunt forms, while the pair *daŋay* or *daŋadi* are perceived as gentler, less forceful forms.

3.2.11   Discourse particle

Eastern Tawbuid has a particle *an* which occurs at the beginning of a clausal predicate. It does not affect the truth-conditions of a statement; instead, it appears to function at the discourse-pragmatic level. One of its functions is to mark contrast from one statement to another. The following example shows a series of three sentences from a recorded text:

(173) *bandi*   =*ban*   *di*   =*o*   *ta-ga-faliŋun-an*   *fag*   *taw*
       in.future   {future}   NEG   2SG.NOM   NMLZ-IPFV;ADVERS-mistreat-RES   LNK   person
       'In the future you won't be a person who gets mistreated.'

       an   =*tu*   =*o*   *sik*   *ma-saful-an*   *fag*   *uŋa*
       DISCP   {good}   2SG.NOM   DET   ADJ-know-RES   LNK   child
       'Rather, you will be a knowledgeable child.'

       sik   *ma-saful-an*   =*tu*   =*o*
       DET   ADJ-know-RES   {good}   2SG.NOM
       'You will be a knowledgeable one.'

In the second sentence, *an* is used to mark the contrast of *sik masafulan fag uŋa* ('a knowledgeable child') with *tagafaliŋunan fag taw* ('a person who gets mistreated'). Notice that the third sentence has virtually the same content as the second, but there is no contrast with the preceding sentence, and *an* is not used.

However, the function of *an* goes far beyond just marking contrast. A full explanation of its function would require serious discourse analysis, something which is beyond the scope of this grammar.

3.2.12   Modal verbs

Eastern Tawbuid has at least a couple of modal verbs, that is, lexemes that can occur alongside a verb to provide additional information about the tense, aspect, or mode of a verb. I am currently aware of only two modal verbs, *bataŋ* and *bulun*.

bataŋ is used to indicate that the accompanying verb is perfective:

(174) *bataŋ*   =*wa*   *g-sulsul*
       PFV   {already}   AGT-set.alight
       'One has already lit it before.'

bulun, on the other hand, is used to indicate the exertion of much effort:

(175) *bulun*   =*wa*   =*m*   *g-baris*
      EFFORT   {already}   2PL.NOM   AGT-endure
      'You are already doing your best to endure.'

When either of these modal verbs is used, the affixes on the accompanying verb are affixes which normally indicate imperfect aspect. The *g-* prefix used in both examples above is an imperfective agentive affix (see section 4.4.2.1). However, when used in conjunction with a modal verb, the aspectual meaning of these affixes is cancelled out by the modal verb.[24]

3.2.13 Interjections

Interjections are words that are not integrated into a sentence, but rather form utterances on their own. The following list is not exhaustive.

Agreement
kin	'Yes'
ia, yaya	'No' (default)
idya	'Not yet' (anticipatory)
igdi	'No' (fortunate)
muag	disagreeing with a negative statement

Emotion
sek, bek	express displeasure
bakyas	expresses fear or shock
tubus	expresses jealousy
bubu	expresses fear that someone will fall
dalagɨn	'What a relief!'
faŋulan	'What a shame!'

Sensation
atis, atus	exclamation when cold
atsuk	exclamation when hot
arɨy	exclamation when tired
adɨk	'Ouch!'

3.2.14 Second-position clitics

Eastern Tawbuid has about fifty second-position clitics. This staggering array of clitics is used to communicate a wide range of semantic and discourse-pragmatic information. A full treatment of these would be a study in its own right.

Second-position clitics are a common feature of Philippine languages (Himmelmann 2000), but the Eastern Tawbuid clitic system is far more elaborate than those of well-known Philippine languages. For example, Schachter and Otanes (1972) identify eighteen non-pronominal clitics in Tagalog. Some Eastern Tawbuid clitics are roughly equivalent to Tagalog clitics (e.g. =*yay* is similar to Tagalog =*pa*), but most have no analog.

The clitic system reveals, more than any other part of Eastern Tawbuid grammar, the limitations of using English as a metalanguage. Clitics form a ubiquitous part of any natural text or conversation, but

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[24] In the context of Eastern Tawbuid verb morphology, this is less surprising than it may seem. Many verbal affixes mark different properties (or sets of properties) depending on the what other verbal affixes they co-occur with (see section 4.4.2), so there is nothing odd about a modal verb also affecting what exact properties a verbal affix marks.

much of the information they convey is information that cannot be concisely explained in English. Take the following example, in which I have refrained from glossing or translating the clitics:

(176) roro   ga-labaŋ-un   =wa =unu =ŋani =ay *Makadaŋdaŋ*
     actually IPFV;ADVERS-spirit-CHAR   *Makadaŋdaŋ*
     'Actually *Makadaŋdaŋ* was being haunted.'

The English translation seems complete but misses out the information conveyed by more than half of the words in the Eastern Tawbuid original. In the original, the clitic *=wa* communicates that *Makadaŋdaŋ*'s haunting is a recent development, not something that had already been going on for some time. The clitic *=unu* is used here to mark narrative style, as the speaker is telling a traditional story. The clitic *=ŋani* indicates that the hearer should have already inferred that *Makadaŋdaŋ* has begun to be haunted, while the clitic *=ay* indicates that this clause is providing background information that will help explain a following clause. Trying to express in an English translation everything these clitics communicate is an exercise in futility.

    In this section, I translate examples in such a way as to emphasise the information conveyed by the clitics. In the rest of the grammar, if the clitic expresses something which can be compactly expressed in English grammar (e.g. time), I translate it; otherwise, I gloss it but leave it out of the translation. Throughout this grammar, all glosses of non-pronominal clitics are enclosed in braces { }. A gloss of '{wonder}' should not be understood as 'wonder (N)' or 'wonder (V)', but rather as a gloss on a clitic that indicates that the speaker is wondering about what they are saying.

    The subsections 3.2.14.1 to 3.2.14.7 give an overview of the functions of non-pronominal clitics in Eastern Tawbuid. These subsections are followed by a brief introduction to some of the additional complexities of the clitic system: clitic multifunctionality (3.2.14.8) and clitic combinations with specialised meanings (3.2.14.9). For an overview of the syntax of clitics, including clitic ordering and placement within a clause, the reader is referred to section 9.4.1.

3.2.14.1   *Time and aspect*

Some clitics convey information about the time of an event. The clitic *=ban*, for example, indicates an event that will take place in the future, after the present day:

(177) mà-n-lunus   =ami   =ban
     AVERT-NAGT-be.hungry 1PL.NOM.EXCL {future}
     'We might eventually get hungry.' (talking about the distant future)

(178) nu   e   tarak   =tua =ban
     SUB   EXIST vehicle {good   future}
     'If there will be a vehicle…' (talking about the next morning)

    Other clitics convey information about the aspect of an event. The clitic *=yay*, for example, generally indicates an event which is viewed as incomplete and unbounded, regardless of time:

(179) katsi g-sarap   =k   =yay ku   kwintu
     now   IPFV;AGT-search 1SG.NOM {still} 1SG.GEN story
     'Now I am still searching for my story.' (after a pause in the recording)

(180) g-lag   =k   =yay ku   dalan
     IPFV;AGT-see   1SG.NOM {still} 1SG.GEN path
     'I could still see my way.' (talking about walking at twilight a few days prior)

3.2.14.2 Size and quantity

Some clitics convey information about the size or quantity of an entity. For example, the clitic
=*ayu(ayu)* indicates that there was a lot of something:

(181) *ma-batas-an*　　=*w*　　　=*ayuayu*　*at*　*iklug*
　　　ADJ-burn-RES　{already　many}　　DET　egg
　　　'The eggs were burnt and there were lots of them.'

(182) *nà-ganas*　　　=*wa*　　　=*unu*　　=*ayuayu*
　　　PFV;AGT-uproot　{already　reported　many}
　　　'[They] had uprooted [them] and there were lots of them.'
　　　(talking about a couple of people having uprooted a large number of vines)

　　As the second example shows, *ayu(ayu)* can be used even when the referent with a large quantity is
not overtly expressed.

3.2.14.3 Novelty

Some clitics convey how surprising or novel the speaker considers something to be. For example, =*ŋaro*
indicates that the speaker has suddenly realised something:

(183) *e*　　　*n-bul*　　　　=*wa*　　　=*ŋaro*　　　*ste*
　　　EXIST　PFV;NAGT-take　{already　realisation}　DEM.PROX.OBL
　　　'It turns out that someone has already been taken (i.e. died) here.'
　　　(The speaker has just walked into a house and seen evidence that someone has died in it.)

　　On the other hand, =*ŋani* indicates the speaker considers what they are saying to not be novel at
all. It may be that the speaker is repeating him or herself, or it may be that the speaker is saying
something that is already general knowledge:

(184) *bà-fanus*　　=*ŋani*
　　　ADJ-urine　{redundant}
　　　'Like I already said, [it] stinks of urine.'
　　　(The speaker has just told the hearer that it stinks of urine.)

(185) *Uan*　=*ŋani*　　　*g-lo*　　　　=*wan*
　　　Uan　{redundant}　IPFV;AGT-go　{already}
　　　'As you already know, *Uan* is leaving.'
　　　(This is the first mention of *Uan* in the discourse, but the fact that *Uan* is leaving is common
　　　knowledge in the community.)

3.2.14.4 Truth

Some clitics convey how much truth there is in a clause. For example, =*baŋan* indicates that the speaker
is engaging in hyperbole:

(186) *ya*　=*baŋan*　　　*e*　　*ba-yafun*
　　　NEG　{mostly.true}　EXIST　ACQ-dinner
　　　'[She] sort of didn't have food that she had found for dinner.'
　　　(The speaker later said that she actually had a tiny bit of taro.)

3.2.14.5 Evidentiality

Some clitics convey what the speaker's source of information is for what they are saying. In normal conversation and in non-narrative genres,[25] the clitic =*unu* indicates that the information conveyed in the clause is hearsay:

(187) *Ana =unu   w   e   fagbulun*
      Ana {hearsay} NEG EXIST work
      'They say that *Ana* has nothing to do.'

3.2.14.6 Speaker attitude

Some clitics convey a speaker's attitude towards what they are saying. The clitic =*tua* generally indicates that the speaker considers what they are saying to be a desirable event/state:

(188) *nu   n   =tua   ig-yawa   ka-daul   =tua   am   amunti*
      SUB DISCP {good} IPFV;AGT-weed IPFV;NAGT-big {good} 2SG.GEN sweet.potato
      'If [they] weed, your sweet potato gets big.'

This contrasts with =*way*, which generally indicates an undesirable event/state:

(189) *an   =way =unu   =gugatgugat ig-tiug   sanya*
      DISCP {bad   reported durative}   IPFV;AGT-sleep DEM.DIST.OBL
      '[He] is always just sleeping there.' (He goes out and sleeps all day instead of doing his work.)

3.2.14.7 Clausal relationship

Some clitics convey information about how clauses relate to one another. The clitic =*ay*, for example, indicates that the clause it occurs in provides background information that helps explain a following clause. This background information gives the reason for the event or situation in the following clause:

(190) *ay   roro   at   tina   an   =way =ay   =dawdaw ma-ura*
      but actually 3GEN mother DISCP {bad   reason much}   ADJ-bloat

      wa   g-sak   at   uŋdan
      NEG IPFV;AGT-fit 3GEN stomach
      'But actually, because his mother was really pregnant, her stomach didn't fit.'

3.2.14.8 Clitic multifunctionality

One feature of the clitic system that adds to its complexity is that a single clitic can have a range of functions, not all of which can be classified neatly under one heading. For example, the clitic =*ro* 'irrealis' can mark events as future:

(191) *g-uli   =wa   =loŋ   =ro   =ta*
      IPFV;AGT-go.home {already emphatic irrealis} 1DU.NOM.INCL
      'We will go home soon!'

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[25] Aside from its function as an evidential clitic, =*unu* also indicates a kind of dramatic narrative style. Storytelllers make heavy use of it in both traditional and autobiographical narratives, and children use it when engaging in imaginative play.

It can also mark hypothetical and counterfactual statements:

(194) *maŋena* =*ro*   nu nà-taruŋ   =*wadi*
       woman {irrealis} if PFV;AGT-run {bad}

       fag-ayu   *tam*   *umk-ate*   =*wa*   =*tam*
       QUANT-be.many 1PL.NOM.INCL PROJ;NAGT-die {already}   1PL.NOM.INCL
       'If the woman were to run, we would die, all of us.'

(195) *ink-ate*   =*wa*   =*ro*   =*ami*
       PFV;NAGT-die {already irrealis} 1PL.NOM.EXCL
       'We would have died.'

It also marks things which the speaker has inferred to be the case:

(196) *fadifadi*   =*ro*   *sa*   *antam*
       thank.you {inferential} ALL 1PL.ACC.INCL
       'I think it's "Thank you to us."' (The speaker is guessing the meaning of an English phrase.)

In short, the function of =*ro* encompasses time/aspect, truth, and evidentiality.

3.2.14.9   Clitic combinations

Aside from the meanings which can be conveyed by the fifty or so individual clitics, particular combinations of clitics also convey different meanings. For example, when the aspectual clitic =*wa* 'already' and the truth clitic =*fia* 'strictly true' occur in the same clause, they indicate a clausal relationship. Specifically, they indicate that the clause they occur in is a fulfilment of an expectation created by a preceding clause:

(197) *kanya*   =*unu*   *nà-laklo*   =*wa* =*fia*
       DEM.DIST {hearsay} PFV;AGT-go.out {fulfilment}
       'She did go out.'
       (The girl had just been told to go out.)

Even though these clitics are working together semantically, syntactically they are still treated as separate units. Other clitics can intervene between them:

(198) *ig-talaŋtaŋ*   =*wa*   =*unu*   =*fia*   *at*   *dalan*
       IPFV;AGT-stairway {fulfilment1 reported fulfilment2} DET path
       '[He] made stairs in the path.'
       (That character in the story had just expressed his intention to make some stairs.)

4
Morphology

This chapter is concerned with describing the morphological processes of Eastern Tawbuid. Eastern Tawbuid makes use of prefixes, suffixes, circumfixes, and one infix. Productive reduplication is present, but its role is relatively minor.

The verbal morphology is complex, expressing a wide range of semantic, aspectual, and modal distinctions. Central to the verbal system is the notion of agentivity; Eastern Tawbuid marks the verb differently based on whether the subject is agent-like or not. Conspicuously absent, however, is the system of voice-like verbal alternations which Philippine-type languages are famous for. The implications of this absence will be discussed in chapter 8.

Nominal morphology is something of a paradox. Unlike verbs, many nouns are monomorphemic. Nouns are not marked for case, and only a small subset of nouns have morphological number marking. However, while the inflectional morphology of nouns is simple (indeed, almost non-existent), the derivational morphology is exactly the opposite. Eastern Tawbuid has a plethora of affixes for deriving nouns, some with extremely specific semantic functions.

It goes without saying that the account of Eastern Tawbuid morphology presented here is not exhaustive. I cannot pretend to have captured all the subtleties of the language's morphology in one chapter. I am confident, however, that this chapter provides a serviceable description of all the common affixes in Eastern Tawbuid, and many of the uncommon ones too.

This chapter begins with a section on issues in analysing Eastern Tawbuid suffixes (section 4.1). This is followed by a section on affixes that produce stems that can then take verbal, nominal, or adjectival morphology (section 4.2). After that comes a brief section on adjectival morphology (section 4.3), followed by a section on the far more complex verbal morphology (section 4.4). Since some of the patterns in nominalising affixes are dependent on adjectival and verbal morphology, it makes sense to deal with nominal morphology last (section 4.5).

4.1   Analysing suffixes

One particularly thorny issue in the analysis of Eastern Tawbuid morphology has to do with suffixes. Since one cannot get far in a morphological description without stumbling across this issue, I present the problem at the outset of this chapter, along with the analytical approach that I have taken.

Eastern Tawbuid morphology has only three suffix forms: -/an/, -/un/, and -/i/. Out of these, the analysis of -/i/ is straightforward: it clearly has only one function, which is to mark the imperative (section 4.4.2.2). So, there is no difficulty at all in saying that there is a single morpheme, -*i*.

With -/an/ and -/un/, however, the situation is different. Both forms have a bewildering array of functions: some clearly related to one another, some less so, and some apparently unrelated.

The following is a partial list of the functions of -/an/:
- Helps form adjectives which refer to a resulting state of affairs rather than a permanent quality (section 4.2.1.1)
- Turns the stem of an action-process verb into the stem of an adversative verb (4.2.1.3)
- Turns a noun into the stem of a possessive verb (4.2.4)
- Marks increased subject volition in some thought/perception verbs (4.2.5)
- Marks the passive of a verb in the anticipative stance (4.4.2.5)
- Marks iterative aspect (4.4.2.8.3)
- Acts as a morphological plural on many kinship nouns (4.5.1)
- Derives nouns from verb stems, both by itself and with co-occurring prefixed forms (4.5.3)

Given this multiplicity of function, it does not seem tenable to say that the phonological forms -/an/ and -/un/ each correspond to a single morpheme. Therefore, my approach in this analysis has been to

treat the different functions of -/an/ and -/un/ as separate morphemes, unless these functions seem to be related in some way.

Another issue is that often an -/an/ or -/un/ suffixed form will only have a certain function in the presence of a certain prefix or prefixes. In this case, my analysis has been based, firstly, on whether the prefixed form ever occurs independently. For example, the prefixed form /nag/- never occurs without the suffixed form -/an/, so I analyse *nag- -an* as a circumfix. But even in some cases where the prefixed form occurs independently, a circumfix analysis makes the most sense.[26]

Another complicating factor is the issue of double-duty suffixes. In situations where one might expect two homophonous suffixes to attach to the same stem, speakers instead tend to produce just one suffix. For example:

(199) *fa-ga-foyuŋ-un*

      NMLZ-ANTIC;IPFV;AGT-teach-ANTIC;NMLZ

      'that which [one] wants to teach'

The word *fagafoyuŋun* is a verbal nominalisation consisting of a root (*foyuŋ*), a verbal circumfix (*ga- -un* - see section 4.4.2.5) and a nominalizing circumfix (*fag- -un* - see section 4.5.3.4). In the case of both *ga- -un* and *fag- -un*, there are good reasons to consider the form a circumfix, rather than a prefix/suffix pair that simply happen to co-occur frequently. But when these two circumfixes that end in *-un* co-occur, the result is a form with only one *-un*, rather than a form with two (*fagafoyuŋunun).

4.2   Stem-deriving morphology

Eastern Tawbuid has some affixes which, when attached to roots, derive stems that then take further affixation. These 'stem-deriving' affixes serve to alter syntactic properties of the root (e.g. causatives in section 4.2.3), and/or to alter the basic meaning of the root (e.g. the *faN-* affix in section 4.2.7). Unlike many roots, stems derived using these affixes cannot exist as freestanding words; they must always take additional affixes.

4.2.1   Resulting state

As was mentioned in section 4.1, the suffix form *-an* in Eastern Tawbuid has a bewildering array of functions. However, many of these can be grouped together under the general heading of 'resulting state', that is, a state that comes about because of an action or event. Therefore, when it has one of this group of functions, I am calling *-an* the 'resulting state suffix'. The precise function of this suffix varies depending on what other affixes are added on to the stem.

In this section, I discuss how stems formed using the resulting state suffix interact with the adjective prefix *ma-*, the agentive verbal affixes, and the adversative verbal affixes. The resulting state suffix also has some additional functions when it co-occurs with the causative prefix. These are discussed in the section on causative morphology (section 4.2.3.3).

4.2.1.1   The resulting state suffix in adjectives

When a stem formed with a resulting state suffix takes the adjectival prefix *ma-* (see section 4.3.1), the adjective that is formed refers to a resulting state:

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[26] For example, the prefix *ka-* is a common affix which marks imperfective aspect on many indicative verbs (see section 4.4.2.1). However, when the form /ka/- co-occurs with the form -/an/, the result is a noun referring to extent (section 4.5.3.11). Since this is far removed from the function of the *ka-* prefix, I treat /ka/- in this case as part of a circumfix *ka- -an.*

(200) *m-ate-an*
ADJ-die-RES
'dead'

(201) *ma-batas-an* =*wa* =*ayuayu* *at* *iklug*
ADJ-burn-RES {already en.masse} DET egg
'The eggs were all burnt.' (the state that the speaker found them in when she returned home)

   Some roots can take the *ma-* prefix either alone or in conjunction with a resulting state suffix. In these cases, the form with the bare root acting as the stem refers to a quality, while the form with a derived stem refers to a (possibly temporary) state:

	Without resulting state suffix		With resulting state suffix	
(202)	*ma-umsig*	'desirable'	*ma-umsig-an*	'acting with gusto'
	ma-falyu	'incomprehensible'	*ma-falyu-an*	'out of sight'
	m-apla	'embarassing'	*m-apla-n*	'embarassed'

4.2.1.2 *The resulting state suffix in agentive verbs*

When a stem derived with the resulting state suffix takes agentive verbal affixation, the verb that is formed refers to being in a state resulting from the action/event described by the root, or engaging in activity which involves such a state. For example:

(203) *g-ugat-an* =*wan* *nu* *g-gamas*
IPFV;AGT-increase-RES {already} SUB IPFV;AGT-clear.swidden
'They are working all-out at making the clearing.'

(204) *sugud-an-i* =*way*
turn.backwards-RES-IMPV {just}
'Walk facing backwards.'

   The resulting state suffix attaches to roots which refer to a way of grasping or securing something. When such a stem is used with agentive verbal affixes, it refers to carrying something about which is grasped or secured in a particular way. For example:

(205) *ig-galumut-an*
IPFV;AGT-grab-RES
'carry in one's hands'

(206) *ig-taud-an*
IPFV;AGT-stick.in.a.gap-RES
'carry (something) stuck in a loop around one's waist'

   The contrast between an agentive verb formed on such a root and an agentive verb formed on the same root plus the resulting state suffix is subtle:

(207) *ig-salili*
IPFV;AGT-cradle
'cradle (in one's lap or arms)'
(This implies the act of picking up something/someone and cradling them.)

(208) *ig-salili-an*
      IPFV;AGT-cradle-RES
      'cradle (in one's lap or arms)'
      (This implies that something/someone is being held, cradled in one's lap or arms.)

4.2.1.3   *The resulting state suffix in adversative verbs*

When a resulting state suffix is used to form a stem that takes adversative verbal affixation (see section 4.4.1.1), the verb that is formed refers to being in an adverse state resulting from the action/event described by the root.

    The resulting state suffix attaches very productively to roots which form the stems of action-process verbs (see section 7.1). Without any stem-deriving affixes, these roots can take agentive affixes, in which case they form verbs where there is a clear agent and a clearly-affected patient. When these roots take a resulting state affix, however, they can then take adversative verbal affixes, forming verbs which refer to the adversity that the subject experiences because of the actions of a (possibly unspecified) agent. For example:

(209) *ka*   *fag* *taw*   *ga-tuŋul-an*   *at* *bula*
      DEM.DIST LNK person IPFV;ADVERS-strike-RES DET ball
      'That (poor) person keeps on getting hit by the ball.'

    An adversative formed in this way may imply that the action has been done to excess:

(210) *ga-riruk-an*   *=wa*   *=ŋap*   *ku*   *fafil*
      IPFV;ADVERS-write-RES {already frustration} 1SG.GEN paper
      'My (poor) paper is getting written all over!'

    This process is not restricted to the roots of action-process verbs. Roots with a range of semantic properties can take the resulting state suffix, forming the stem of an adversative verb. Some of these roots can also act as verb stems. Compare the following pairs of clauses, where the first contains a verb formed on the root alone, while the other contains an adversative verb formed on a stem consisting of a root and a resulting state suffix:

(211) a. *nan-sarap*   *=unu*   *at*   *manuk*
         INTENT;IPFV-[AGT]-search {hearsay} 3GEN chicken
         'She was going to look for her chickens.'

      b. *laman*   *di*   *=am*   *ga-sarap-an*   *ay*   *fag-fan-yafun-an*
         so.that NEG 2PL.NOM IPFV;ADVERS-search-RES 2PL.GEN NMLZ-ACQ-dinner-NMLZ
         '…so that you do not find yourselves casting about for a place to get your dinner from.'

(212) a. *buri*   *g-labi*   *=yay* *sik* *kayak*
         kind.of.lizard IPFV;AGT-be.greater {still} DET kind.of.lizard
         'A *buri* lizard is bigger than a *kayak* lizard.'

      b. *tam*   *Uan*   *na-labi-an*   *=dawdaw*
         1PL.NOM.INCL *Uan* PFV;ADVERS-be.greater-RES {much}

         tam   *iba*   *nu* *ma-lindug* *si* *t*   *dayu*
         1PL.NOM.INCL fellow.ones SUB ADJ-stand LOC 3GEN area.away
         '*Uan* got all jealous of how the others were standing off some distance away from him.'

(213) a. *y*   *=o*   *n-nanad*
         NEG   2SG.NOM   PFV;NAGT-be.accustomed
         'You're not used to it yet.'

     b. *k=*   *wa*   *ga-nanad-an*
         1SG.NOM   NEG   IPFV;ADVERS-be.accustomed-RES
         'I'm not sick of it.'

The resulting state suffix is also used to form the stems of adversative verbs from roots which cannot, by themselves, take verbal affixes:

(214) *ga-taka-n*
      IPFV;ADVERS-be.difficult-RES
      'has a hard time' (Compare *ma-taka* 'difficult'.)

(215) *ga-yud-an*
      IPFV;ADVERS-NEG-RES
      'lacks; is in need of' (*yud* is the negator in noun phrases and some clauses - see section 3.2.10.1)

(216) *ga-labaw-an*
      IPFV;ADVERS-compete-RES
      'is defeated'
      (The root of this verb cannot act as a stem on its own, but it also occurs with a causative stem-deriving affix, forming the verb *ig-fa-labo* 'cause to compete')

4.2.2   Characteristic state

The suffix *-un* is used to derive stems referring to a state that is characteristic of something or someone. For example:

(217) *g-uban-un*
      IPFV;AGT-grey.hair-CHAR
      'has grey hair'

The 'characteristic state suffix' is in some ways the counterpart of the resulting state suffix (section 4.2.1), but it is much less productive than this suffix. Its primary function is to derive stems of adversative verbs from noun roots. Adversative verbs formed from these stems refer to a state where the subject is characterised by an overabundance of something:

(218) *ga-lifak-un*
      IPFV;ADVERS-mud-CHAR
      'is covered in mud'

(219) *ga-dabdab-un*
      IPFV;ADVERS-ant-CHAR
      'is infested with ants'

The characteristic suffix also co-occurs with the causative prefix (see section 4.2.3.4). Aside from these two functions, the characteristic suffix is rare.

4.2.3 Causation

According to Himmelmann (2005:170), "a causative formation involving the prefix *pa-* (or a cognate form) is probably the most widely attested productive morphological derivation in western Austronesian languages." Eastern Tawbuid is no exception to this. It makes copious use of a morphological causative formed with *fa-*. In addition to this prefix, the resulting state and characteristic suffixes (sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2) can also be used to mark different kinds of causation.

4.2.3.1 Basic causative: *fa-*

When the prefix *fa-* is used without any other stem-deriving affixes, it communicates the canonical concept of causation, that is, a causer acts to get a causee to perform an action. This includes 'direct causation':

(220) *fa-ful-i*   *at*   *funfun*
      [AGT]-CAUS-be.gathered-IMPV   DET   undergrowth
      'Gather up the undergrowth.'

    It also includes 'indirect causation':

(221) *an-i*   =*tua*   *fa-yawa-i*   *s*   *tigyaŋan*
      DISCP-IMPV   [good]   [AGT]-CAUS-weed(v)-IMPV   OBL   edge
      'Make [them] clear weeds at the edge.'

(222) *ig-fa-tarabau*   *kata*   *karabaw*
      IPFV;AGT-CAUS-work   like   water.buffalo
      '[They] were forcing [them] to work like water buffalo'

4.2.3.2 Emotion and Sensation causative: *fa-* + Resulting State

When a causative prefix is added to a root which can form the base of an emotion/sensation verb (section 7.8), it must take a resulting state suffix:

(223) *Uan   g-f-apla-n*   *emu*
      Uan   IPFV;AGT-CAUS-be.ashamed-RES   2SG.ACC
      '*Uan* is shaming you.'

(224) *ig-fa-yuŋan-an*   =*baŋan*   *at*   *sisian*
      IPFV;AGT-CAUS-be.scared-RES   {mostly.true}   DET   child(ren)
      '[He] is kind of scaring the children.'

4.2.3.3 'Lazy' causative: *fa-* + Resulting State

The combination of the *fa-* prefix and the resulting state suffix can also be used to form a causative in which the causer does not exert any effort. In these 'lazy' causative forms, the causer simply waits for the event to come about:

(225) *fa-siwaŋ-an-i*   =*yap*
      [AGT]-CAUS-stop.raining-RES-IMPV   {temporary}
      'Wait for it to stop raining.'

(226) *ig-fa-rios-an*   *=k*   *=yay*   *ku*   *kafi*
        IPFV;AGT-CAUS-be.cold-RES   1SG.NOM   {still}   1SG.GEN   coffee
        'I'm waiting for my coffee to cool down.'

      These 'lazy' causatives can only be derived from roots that can form process verbs (section 7.3). This is not to say, however, that all causatives derived from these roots must be 'lazy' causatives. Speakers have a choice of whether to use a lazy causative or a basic causative, depending on the whether the causer acts or not.

4.2.3.4   *Factitive: fa- + Characteristic state*

The combination of the *fa-* prefix and the characteristic state suffix can be used to form causatives in which the causer completely brings about the event or quality which the root refers to:

(227) *lag*   *f-amin-un*
        NEG;IMPV   CAUS-be.used.up-CHAR
        'Don't use it up completely.'

(228) *an-i*   *=tua*   *fa-sak-un-i*   *am*   *fan-sali*
        DISCP-IMPV   {good}   [AGT]-CAUS-be.sufficient-CHAR-IMPV   2SG.GEN   INS-pay
        'Pay the full price.'

4.2.4   **Possession: *-an***

Eastern Tawbuid uses the suffix *-an* to derive from noun roots stems which refer to having, wearing, or carrying something. The stems which are derived using this suffix are treated as action verbs (section 7.2):

(229) *ma-sine*   *nu*   *g-buk-an*
        ADJ-be.good   SUB   IPFV;AGT-hair-POSS
        'He/she has nice hair.'

(230) *ig-sabi-an*   *=tu*   *=o*   *nu*   *g-laklo*   *=o*
        IPFV;AGT-basket-POSS   {good}   2SG.NOM   SUB   IPFV;AGT-go.out   2SG.NOM
        'You carry a basket when you go out.'

        w   *=o*   *g-sinilas-an*
        NEG   2SG.NOM   IPFV;AGT-flip.flops-POSS
        'You aren't wearing flip-flops.'

      I have chosen to treat instances of *-an* that have this function as a separate morpheme to the resulting state affix (section 4.2.1), although one could also reasonably analyse the possessive function of *-an* as the function that the resulting state affix has when it attaches to a noun root.

4.2.5   **Experiencer volition: *-an***

Yet another function of the form *-an* occurs in the context of roots that form thought/perception verbs (section 7.7). When an *-an* suffix attaches to some of these roots, the resulting stem indicates greater volition on the part of the experiencer than is indicated by the root alone. The root *duŋug* 'hear' takes this suffix to form the stem *duŋug-an* 'listen'. Likewise, the root *amataŋ* 'remember' takes this suffix to form the stem *amataŋ-an* 'think'.

4.2.6   Acquisition: *faN-*

The prefix *faN-* can be used to derive verb stems from noun roots. The derived stems refer to actions which people normally perform to acquire the entity referred to by the root:

(231) *ig-faŋ-umaŋ*
       IPFV;AGT-ACQ-snail
       'hunt for snails'

(232) *ig-fan-sili*
       IPFV;AGT-ACQ-eel
       'fish for eels'

(233) *ig-fan-yaŋo*
       IPFV;AGT-ACQ-deadwood
       'gather deadwood'

(234) *ig-fan-siŋku*
       IPFV;AGT-ACQ-money
       'do something to earn money'

(235) *ig-fan-sabi*
       IPFV;AGT-ACQ-basket
       'make a basket'

   As the examples above suggest, the interpretation of these verbs is dependent on a speakers' understanding of how a person interacts with the world. If the referent of the noun root is something that the Tawbuid make (like baskets), then the derived verb refers to making that object; if the referent is something that the Tawbuid do not make (like money), then the derived verb refers to locating that object in the environment.

4.2.7   Misbehavior: *faN-*

Aside from deriving stems referring to acquisition (section 4.2.6), the prefix form *faN-* has another stem-deriving function; it forms stems referring to misbehavior. There is always a clear conceptual link between the referent of the root and the referent of the derived stem, but the nature of this link varies from root to root, so that the meaning of the derived stem cannot be reliably inferred from the meaning of the root:

	Verb formed on root	Verb formed on derived stem
(236)	*ka-daragaŋ*	*ig-fan-daragaŋ*
	IPFV;NAGT-power	IPFV;AGT-MISBEHAVE-power
	'feel proud/succesful'	'boast'
(237)	*ig-bul*	*kamul*
	IPFV;AGT-take	IPFV;AGT:MISBEHAVE:take
	'take'	'steal'
(238)	*ig-baŋgil*	*kamaŋgil*
	IPFV;AGT-turn.over	IPFV;AGT:MISBEHAVE:turn.over
	'turn over'	'steal'

(239) *ig-labe*   *ig-fan-labe*
    IPFV;AGT-burn   IPFV;AGT-MISBEHAVE-burn
    'burn (transitive)'   'break a verbal taboo'

(240) *g-uro*   *ig-faŋ-uro*
    IPFV;AGT-yell   IPFV;AGT-MISBEHAVE-yell
    'yell'   'endanger someone's good fortune by drawing attention to it'

4.3   Adjective morphology

Adjectives in Eastern Tawbuid are generally derived by adding adjective-deriving affixes to stems. The stems of adjectives can be either plain roots or stems derived using the affixes presented in section 4.2.[27]

There are only six adjective-specific affixes in Eastern Tawbuid. Three of these are used to derive basic, attributive forms of adjectives; the other three mark comparative or intensive forms.

4.3.1   General adjectives: *ma-*

Most adjectives in Eastern Tawbuid are formed with the prefix *ma-*. For example:

(241) *ma-lagsi*
    ADJ-be.white
    'white'

(242) *ma-limu*
    ADJ-be.afraid
    'scary'

(243) *ma-tagmara*
    ADJ-wind
    'windy'

Section 4.2.1.1 gives several examples of *ma-* attaching to derived stems.

4.3.2   Quantity/Extension adjectives: *ŋa-*

A small number of adjectives are formed with the prefix *ŋa-*. These adjectives refer to quantity or extension. For example:

(244) *ŋ-ayu*
    ADJ-be.many
    'many'

(245) *ŋ-aba*
    ADJ-be.long
    'long'

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[27] As was mentioned in section 3.1.2, there are a handful of roots that can act as adjectives on their own. These include *bagu* 'new', *dan* 'old (of things)' and *alay* 'small'.

(246) *ŋa-yayu*
    ADJ-be.far
    'far'

4.3.3   Smell adjectives: *bà-*

Still other adjectives are formed with the prefix *bà-*. Adjectives derived with this prefix refer to smells. For example:

(247) *bà-bap*
    ADJ-feces
    'smelling of feces'

(248) *bà-labanu*
    ADJ-soursop
    'smelling of soursop'

4.3.4   Comparative of equal degree: *ka-*

The prefix *ka-* is used to form comparative adjectives of equal degree. The *ka-* prefix can attach either to a stem, or to the attributive form of an adjective:

(249) *k-aba*   *=w*   *anya* *ku*   *kwintu*
    COMPV-be.long {already} 3ACC 1SG.GEN story
    'My story is as long as that.'

(250) *wa*   *ka-ma-sugba*   *ste*
    NEG COMPV-ADJ-be.hot DEM.PROX.OBL
    'It's not as hot as here.'

4.3.5   Comparative of unequal degree: *a-* + *=yap*

The prefix *a-* and the clitic *=yap* are used together to form comparative adjectives of unequal degree:

(251) *a-ŋa-yayu*   *=yap*
    COMPV-ADJ-be.far COMPV
    '[It's] even farther.'

(252) *a-ma-yayum*   *=yap* *t*   *iba*   *triinwan*
    COMPV-ADJ-find.delicious COMPV DET other 3-in-1
    '3-in-1 coffee, [it's] tastier than the others.'

    As these examples show, if an adjective is derived using one of the affixes mentioned previously, such as *ma-* or *ŋa-*, the *a-* prefix does not replace it. Instead, it is used in addition to the affix which derives the attributive form of the adjective.

4.3.6   Intensive: *nà-*

The prefix *nà-* is used to mark intensive adjectives. Like the *a-* prefix mentioned in the preceding section, this prefix is used in addition to any affix that is necessary to derive the attributive form of the adjective:

(253) *nà-ma-sine*
      INTENSIVE-ADJ-be.good
      'very good'

4.4 Verb morphology

This section looks at the affixes which can be attached to Eastern Tawbuid stems to form verbs. These stems can be either plain roots or stems derived using the affixes introduced in section 4.2.

4.4.1 Overview

Eastern Tawbuid verbal affixes mark the following three things:

- Agentivity
- Stance/Mode
- Aspect

Before delving into the intricacies of the different affixes (and affix combinations) which mark these concepts, I will first explain what I mean when I refer to each of these concepts, and what contrasts Eastern Tawbuid makes with respect to each of these.

4.4.1.1 *Agentivity*

```
                        Agentivity
              _____/_____
             /                 |         \
        Agentive         Non-agentive    Adversative
```
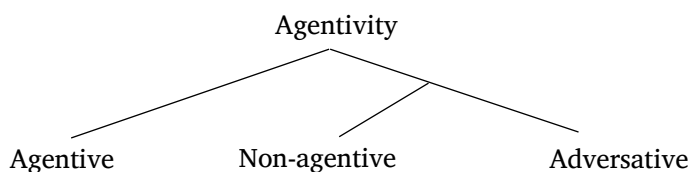
In Eastern Tawbuid, verbs take affixes which indicate how the subject relates to the verb. Since the primary distinction is between subjects which are reasonably agent-like and subjects that are not, I am calling this concept 'agentivity', and the two major categories 'agentive' and 'non-agentive'. Prototypically, verbs which refer to actions ('Someone/something did X') take agentive affixes, whereas verbs which refer to events ('X happened to someone/something') take non-agentive affixes. A third category, which I call 'adversative', is sometimes distinguished. The subjects of verbs that take adversative affixes tend to be adversely affected by the event or state described by the verb ('Someone/something suffered X'). Much of the verbal morphology conflates adversative verbs with non-agentive verbs.

There are, of course, some complications to the system outlined above:

- Not all verbs fall neatly into one of the three categories. For example, verbs with experiencer subjects present a problem. Experiencers are animate, and agents tend to be animate, so experiencers are agent-like. But experiencers are also patient-like, since they don't instigate an action, and they are affected by the event that the verb refers to. The treatment of verbs with experiencer subjects is not uniform in Eastern Tawbuid: some take agentive affixes, some take non-agentive, and some take adversative.
- Verbs referring to atmospheric phenomena don't take subjects at all, so it is hard to see how they can be assigned any agentivity value, if agentivity is in fact an indicator of the relationship between the subject and the verb.

- By the analysis presented above, a few verbs take the 'wrong' affixes; namely, there is a small set of stative verbs which take agentive affixes (section 7.10).

Of these three complications, the first is an unavoidable result of language imposing discrete categories on the real world. In any distinction as abstract as 'agentivity', there must be marginal cases which do not fit nicely into any one category.

The problem of atmospheric verbs can also be explained. In Eastern Tawbuid, these verbs are assigned agentive or non-agentive affixes based on semantic similarities to other verbs that do take subjects. Verbs that refer to a change of state in the atmosphere take non-agentive affixes, because other verbs that refer to changes of state take non-agentive affixes (section 7.3). Verbs that refer to the appearance of things (such as rain, wind, and lightning) in the atmosphere take agentive affixes, on analogy with production verbs (section 7.4).

The last of these three complications is one that I cannot explain at present.

4.4.1.2   Stance/Mode

Eastern Tawbuid verbal affixes also mark what I am calling 'stance', a concept which encompasses what is usually called 'mode' in linguistic description. Mode is generally characterised as an indication of "the speaker's attitude towards a situation" (Payne 1997:244). A mode can indicate the level of a speaker's belief in a particular proposition, as well as indicating how desirable the speaker believes that proposition to be. In other words, mode is all about the attitude that the *speaker* takes towards what they are saying.

In Eastern Tawbuid, mode in the traditional sense is intertwined with the attitude of the grammatical *subject* of the clause towards the event they are involved in. This is exemplified by the anticipative mode/stance, which indicates an attitude of extreme anticipation of an event. In some cases, a verb with anticipative affixation refers to an event that is highly anticipated by the speaker; in other cases, verbs with this affixation refer to an event that is highly anticipated by the subject of the clause. (See section 4.4.2.5 on the anticipative affixes for examples.) Another example is provided by the intentive mode/stance (section 4.4.2.3); this sometimes functions as a true mode, used for making suggestions or requests, but more commonly it indicates that the subject intends to bring about the action that the verb refers to.

In short, Eastern Tawbuid verbal morphology is sensitive to a concept that encompasses more than the normal usage of the term 'mode'. I am therefore using a term of my own, 'stance', to refer to a concept which encompasses mode. Mode conveys the *speaker's* attitude toward an event, while 'stance' also includes the *subject's* attitude towards an event or situation.

Seven stances are distinguished by the verbal morphology. The following table lists the technical label I am using for each, along with a non-technical illustration of what each label implies.

Table 4.1. Stances that are distinguished by verbal morphology

Stance	What does this stance mean?
Indicative (section 4.4.2.1)	Statement **X** is true.
Imperative (section 4.4.2.2)	Make statement **X** true!
Intentive (section 4.4.2.3)	Someone intends to make statement **X** true.
Potentive (section 4.4.2.4)	Statement **X** can become true.
Anticipative (section 4.4.2.5)	Statement **X** is on the verge of becoming true/ someone needs statement **X** to become true.
Avertive (section 4.4.2.6)	May statement **X** not become true!
Optative (section 4.4.2.7)	May statement **X** become true!

4.4.1.3   Aspect

In Eastern Tawbuid, it is helpful to distinguish between primary and secondary aspect marking. 'Primary aspect marking' in Eastern Tawbuid marks distinctions between aspects which are broad in scope (e.g. the imperfective), whereas 'secondary aspect marking' is used to indicate specialised, specific aspects (e.g. the iterative).

In the indicative, Eastern Tawbuid makes a three-way primary aspect distinction: perfective, imperfective, and projective. The 'perfective aspect' is used for events which are viewed as complete wholes:

(254) *nà-simat*
       PFV;AGT-sew
       '[She] sewed [it].'

(255) *ka   fag   ta-g-awaŋ   in-toŋ   sad gubat*
       DEM.DIST LNK   NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-make.noise   PFV;NAGT-fall   INE forest
       'That aeroplane fell into the forest.'

The 'imperfective aspect' is used for events which are viewed as ongoing or incomplete:

(256) *tuy   tam   Calapan an   =wa   ka-safa   =wan*
       DEM.PROX   1PL.GEN.INCL   *Calapan* DISCP {now} IPFV;NAGT-river {now}
       'This Calapan of ours is becoming a river now.'

(257) *ga-buru   =o*
       IPFV;ADVERS-snot 2SG.NOM
       'You have a cold.'

The 'projective aspect' is used for events which have not actually occurred. It is used of future events of varying likelihood, as well as in statements about hypothetical events:

(258) *s<um>ali   =ak   =tua   sik   bariŋan*
       <PROJ;AGT>pay   1SG.NOM =tua   {good} DET   water.container
       'I will give a water container as payment.'

(259) *am   maŋena =ro   t<um>aruŋ*
       2SG.GEN   wife   {inferential} <PROJ;AGT>run
       'Your wife might run.'

(260) *ma-baŋyus   =ak   =ro*
       PROJ;ADVERS-sandfly 1SG.NOM {inferential}
       'I would get bitten by sandflies.'

I have called the projective an 'aspect' because Eastern Tawbuid morphology treats it as part of the same paradigm as the perfective and the imperfective, but the reader should be aware that the function of the projective overlaps with some of the non-indicative stances. In a number of non-indicative stances (e.g. potentive), the projective aspect drops out, and only a perfective-imperfective distinction is maintained. In other non-indicative stances (e.g. imperative), the primary aspect distinctions fall away entirely.

In addition to the primary aspects, Eastern Tawbuid distinguishes three specialised secondary aspects, specifically the 'conative', the 'habitual', and the 'iterative'. Each of these is described in the section on secondary aspect affixation (section 4.4.2.8).

4.4.2 Verbal affixes

Having discussed the major concepts that are marked on Eastern Tawbuid verbs, it is now time to deal with the morphology used to mark those concepts. The following diagram gives an overview of morpheme ordering within the Eastern Tawbuid verb, with grey boxes representing non-essential parts of the verb:
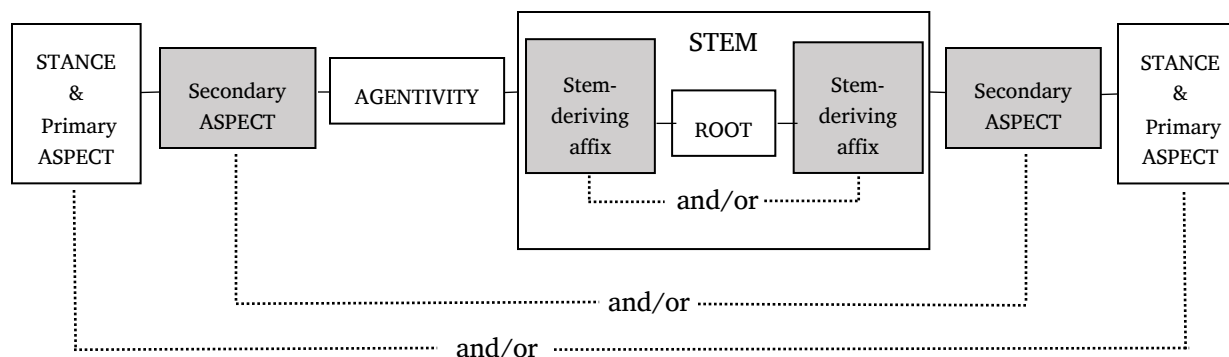
Figure 4.1. Morpheme ordering within the Eastern Tawbuid verb.

As the diagram shows, almost everything that is marked on the Eastern Tawbuid verb can be marked with prefixes, suffixes, or a combination of these. The resulting overall picture is of a kind of 'Russian doll' structure, with the central root enclosed by successive layers of possible affix positions.

In the diagram, 'stance' and 'primary aspect' are paired together in the same layer. This is because primary aspect marking is never separate from stance marking (although in some stances, aspect is not marked at all). In other words, all affixes that mark primary aspect are portmanteau affixes that also mark stance.

In fact, most verbal affixes in Eastern Tawbuid are portmanteau morphemes, that is, a single affix marks more than one property. Some of these affixes combine properties that I have listed in separate boxes in the diagram above. For example, the prefix *nà-* marks a verb as being agentive, as well as marking that it is in the perfective aspect and the indicative stance. So this single affix marks properties listed in the first box, namely stance and primary aspect, as well as the property listed in the third box, agentivity. However, the prefix *nà-* can only do this if the second box is empty, that is, when no prefix that marks secondary aspect is present. If such a prefix is present, then agentivity must be marked with separate morphology to stance and primary aspect. To put it simply, the boxes (that is, possible affix positions) can be conflated, if the ordering shown by the diagram above is not violated.

One further complication presented by many portmanteau affixes is that the properties they mark depend on which other affixes co-occur with them. For example, the prefix *nà-* usually marks stance and primary aspect as well as agentivity, but depending on which affixes co-occur with it, *nà-* can also be used to mark just stance and primary aspect, or just agentivity.

The following section works through the various Eastern Tawbuid verb affixes, beginning with affixes that include stance marking as part of their function. These affixes are grouped by stance, with the stances presented roughly in order of frequency in natural speech. After these comes a brief discussion of secondary aspect affixes (section 4.4.2.8).

Since the morphology used to mark agentivity depends mainly on what other affixes occur on the verb, I have not set a description of agentivity affixation off in a section of its own. Instead, in each section describing affixes that mark stance and/or aspect, I also describe how agentivity is marked when those affixes are present.

4.4.2.1 Indicative

The indicative stance affixes in Eastern Tawbuid are all portmanteau affixes which combine stance, primary aspect, and agentivity, so they do not require any other affixes to co-occur with them to form a verb. They are as follows:

Table 4.2. Indicative stance affixes

	Agentive	Non-Agentive	Adversative
Perfective	*nà-*	*in-*	*na-*
Imperfective	*g-*	*ka-*	*ga-*
Projective	*<um>*	*um-*	*ma-*

The indicative affixes are not only the most common verbal affixes in Eastern Tawbuid, they are also unusual in several ways. They are the only affix set in which there is a three-way aspect contrast. Also, unlike the affixes in most non-indicative stances, the indicative affix set treats the adversative as separate to the non-agentive.

A number of these affixes (especially *g-*, *<um>*, *in-*, and *um-*) undergo phonologically and morphophonologically conditioned alternations (see especially section 2.4.3).

4.4.2.2 Imperative

The following diagram gives the form of the verb in the imperative stance. Note that the ordering of morphemes in the simpler diagram here is consistent with the ordering laid out in figure 4.1:
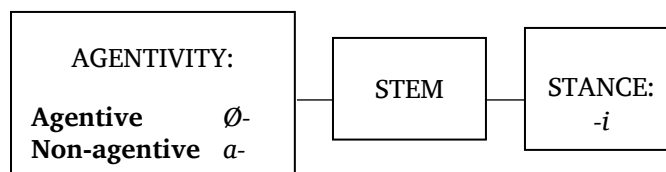
Figure 4.2. Form of a verb in the imperative stance.

The imperative is marked in Eastern Tawbuid with the suffix *-i*. In this stance, aspect is not marked. The imperative is used to form positive commands:[28]

(261) *faniŋ-i*
       [AGT]-follow-IMPV
       'Follow!'

The marking of agentivity in the imperative provides an example of two features of agentivity marking that are common in the verb morphology overall. The first feature is that the bare minimum of morphology is used to mark agentivity. If the verb is non-agentive, it has a prefixed *a-*, and if the verb is agentive, there is no prefix. This method of marking agentivity is also the method used in the intentive stance, and it is also used in conjunction with most of the secondary aspect affixes. The second feature is that there is no distinct way to mark the adversative. In the imperative stance, as is the case in many other stances, adversative verbs are not distinguished from non-agentive verbs:

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[28] Prohibitive commands are formed using the negative imperatives described in section 3.2.10.4. Verbs accompanied by negative imperatives take indicative affixes (section 4.4.2.1).

(262) *a-lub-i*
  NAGT-be.facedown-IMPV
  'Get down!'

(263) *a-fanud-i*
  NAGT-believe-IMPV
  'Believe!' (This is actually an adversative verb – see section 7.11)

4.4.2.3 Intentive

The basic form of a verb in the intentive stance is as follows:

STANCE & Primary ASPECT:		AGENTIVITY:		STEM
Perfective	*nànaN-*	**Agentive**	*Ø-*	
Imperfective	*naN-*	**Non-agentive**	*a-*	
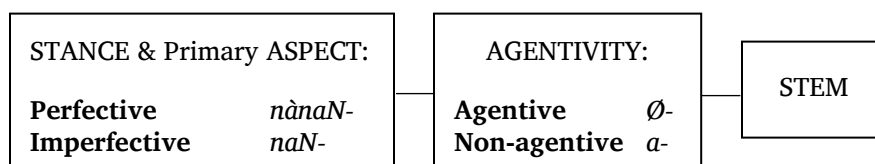
Figure 4.3. Form of a verb in the intentive stance.

The intentive affixes are used to indicate that the subject intends or intended to bring about the event which the verb stem refers to:

(264) *nan-fa-limu*   *=au*   *idu.*
  INTENT;IPFV-[AGT]-CAUS-be.afraid   1SG.NOM   dog
  'I am intending to frighten the dogs.' [said while reaching for a big stick]

(265) *naŋ-a-toŋ*   *=au*   *sad*   *abat*
  INTENT;IPFV-NAGT-fall   1SG.NOM   INE   cliff
  'I am intending to throw myself off the cliff.'

(266) *nànan-basiŋ*
  INTENT:PFV-[AGT]-cut
  'He was intending to cut it.'

I have analysed these affixes as communicating intent because native speakers reject attempts of mine to use them with inanimate subjects:[29]

(267) **naŋ-a-toŋ*   *kanya*   *fag*   *batu*
  INTENT;IPFV-NAGT-fall   DEM.DIST   LNK   rock
  intended: 'That rock is going to fall'
  (compare 'I am intending to throw myself off the cliff' above)

In addition to marking intention, the intentive affixes are also used to make suggestions:

(268) *an*   *=tam*   *nan-taban*   *tam*   *fuyu*
  DISCP   1PL.NOM.INCL   INTENT-[AGT]-bring   1PL.GEN.INCL   youngest.sibling
  'Let's bring our youngest sibling.'

---

[29] **C**, responding to my attempt to form *!naŋ-a-seud* 'intend to be cooked', commented that "it is as if a sweet potato was alive and entered the pot" (*Sik amunti naŋus igleleg ay insuad sa sad bisu*).

(269) *sama*   *nan-fa-bikwal*   =*yay*   =*ta*   *ku*   *bataŋ*

male.vocative   INTENT-[AGT]-CAUS-rotate   {still}   1DU.NOM.INCL   1SG.GEN   log

'Friend, let's turn my log over.'

4.4.2.4   Potentive

The potentive stance indicates that the speaker considers it possible for an event to be brought about, or that the subject finds it possible to bring an event about. The following chart gives several of the affixes associated with potentiality in Eastern Tawbuid.[30] As is the case with the indicative affixes, the potentive affixes all mark aspect, stance and agentivity, so they do not need any other affixes to occur with them to form a verb.

Table 4.3. Potentive stance affixes

	Agentive	**Non-agentive**
Perfective	*nàfa-*	*naŋa-*
Imperfective	*(mà)(fa)fa-*	*maŋa-*

The perfective aspect is used when the state of possibility that the event will take place is viewed as complete and bounded:

(270) *nàfa-babo*   =*au*   *ku*   *fabaraŋyan*

POT;PFV;AGT-defeat   1SG.NOM   1SG.GEN   enemy

'I was able to defeat my enemy.'

(271) *k=*   *wa*   *nàfa-sarap*

1SG.NOM=   NEG   POT:PFV;AGT-look.for

'I wasn't able to find [it].'

The imperfective form is used when the possibility of the event taking place is viewed as ongoing or unbounded:

(272) *bandi*   *fa-faniŋ*   =*wa* =*fia*

in.future   POT;IPFV;AGT-follow   {fulfilment}

'Eventually, [they] would be able to follow [it].'

(273) *màfa-fegus*   =*ak*   =*tua*   *ku*   *daluap*

POT;IPFV;AGT-wash   1SG.NOM   {good}   1SG.GEN   hand

'I can wash my hands.'

(274) *k=*   *wa*   =*ro*   *màfafa-alo*   *emu*

1SG.NOM=   NEG   {inferential}   POT;IPFV;AGT -go.with   2SG.ACC

'I can't go with you.'

The forms for the agentive imperfective are highly variable. I have not been able to determine any meaningful difference between *fa-*, *màfa-* and *màfafa-*:

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[30] The marking of potentiality in Eastern Tawbuid is complex, and there are more affixes which mark this aside from the ones I mention here. On one class of verbs, action verbs, the potentive is marked by using non-agentive rather than agentive affixes (see section 7.2).

(275) *ayu*   *= wan*   *ay*   *ba-butul*
       2PL.ACC {already} 2PL.GEN ACQ-seed

       k=   *wa*   *(mà)(fa)fa-on*
       1SG.NOM = NEG POT;IPFV;AGT-eat
       'Keep the seeds that you got; I can't eat [them].'

4.4.2.5 *Anticipative*

Eastern Tawbuid has a set of affixes for referring to events which are highly anticipated. These anticipatives can be perfective and imperfective. Agentive and non-agentive verbs are affixed slightly differently from each other in the anticipative, and agentive verbs in the anticipative can also be passivised.

Table 4.4. Anticipative stance affixes

	Agentive		**Non-agentive**
	Active	Passive	
Perfective anticipative	*na- -un*	*na- -an*	*na- -un*
Imperfective anticipative	*ga- -un*	*ga- -an*	*gà(ka)- -un*

    The 'active anticipative' on agentive verbs refers to something which the subject really wants or needs to do:

(276) *ga-tifus-un*   *= au*
       ANTIC;IPFV;AGT-urinate-ANTIC 1SG.NOM
       'I need to urinate.'

(277) *ga-bul-un*   *= au*   *sik*   *mutur*
       ANTIC;IPFV;AGT-get-ANTIC 1SG.NOM DET motorbike
       'I want to get a motorbike.'

It also can be used to refer to things that are almost happening:

(278) *ga-lag-un*   *= wa*   *at*   *balitaŋ*
       ANTIC:IPFV;AGT-see-ANTIC {already} 3GEN buttocks
       'One can just about see their buttocks.'

(279) *ga-moyan-un*   *= wa*   *= dawdaw*
       ANTIC;IPFV;AGT-rain-ANTIC {already much}
       'It's really about to rain now.'

    The 'passive anticipative' is used on agentive verbs when the subject is the would-be patient of the action. It is used in situations where the subject wants or needs to have something happen to them:

(280) *ga-foyuŋ-an*   *= o*
       ANTIC;PFV;AGT-teach-ANTIC;PASS 2SG.NOM
       'You want to be taught.'

(281) *w*   *= o*   *ga-ted-an*
       NEG 2SG.NOM ANTIC;IPFV;AGT-hold-ANTIC;PASS
       'Do you not want/need to be held?'

Used with non-agentive verbs, the anticipative refers to things that need to or are about to happen to the subject:

(282) *an* =*wa* =*dawdaw* *gà-sulat-un* *nin* *fag* *ŋay* *ama*
DISCP {already much} ANTIC;IPFV;NAGT-hole-ANTIC DEM.VIS LNK PL man
'Those men are really about to get holes in them.'
(of some people whom the speaker thought were about to get shot)

(283) *gàk-agfu-un* *ay* *kabayan* *ya* *k-agfu*
ANTIC;IPFV;NAGT-be.felled-ANTIC and nevertheless NEG IPFV;NAGT-be.felled
'It is about to be felled, nevertheless it is not yet falling.'
(of a tree which has had a cut made in the trunk and is being rocked)

In the anticipative, perfective aspect is used to refer to situations where the anticipation of the event is viewed as complete. Notice that this form does not mark whether the event occurred:

(284) *na-laklo-un* =*k* =*wa* =*dawdaw*
ANTIC;PFV;AGT-go.out-ANTIC 1SG.NOM {already much}
'I really wanted to go out.' (The speaker had stayed home in the end)

(285) *na-tifus-un* =*dawdaw* =*unda*
ANTIC;PFV;AGT-urinate-ANTIC {much uncertain}
'Maybe [she] really needed to urinate.' (of someone who had just gone to the toilet)

4.4.2.6 *Avertive*

The 'avertive stance' in Eastern Tawbuid is marked with the prefix *mà-*. The avertive is used to indicate that the speaker thinks that an event might happen, but hopes that it does not.
The form of verbs in this stance is as follows:
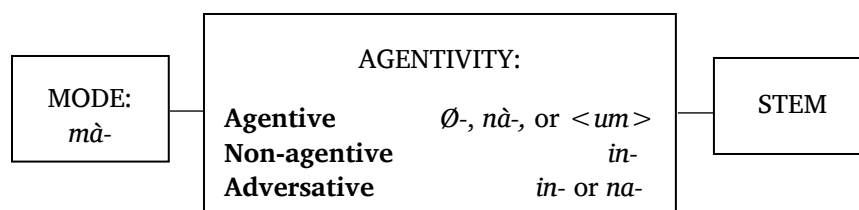
Figure 4.4. Form of a verb in the avertive stance.

As the diagram indicates, a lot more affixes get used to mark agentivity in this stance than are used in many other stances. Upon closer inspection, these affixes turn out to be familiar; they all occur as indicative verb affixes (section 4.4.2.1). What is going on here is that in the avertive, some of the indicative affixes are repurposed as affixes for marking agentivity. When used as indicative affixes, these affixes mark aspect as well as stance and agentivity, but in the avertive, their sole function is to mark agentivity. Aspect is not marked at all in the avertive:

(286) *bakras* *mà-basiŋ* *emi*
INTERJ AVERT-[AGT]-cut 1PL.ACC.EXCL
'Eek! [It] might cut us.'

(287) *mà-n-lunus*   = *ami*   = *ban*
AVERT-NAGT-be.hungry 1PL.NOM.EXCL {future}
'We might eventually get hungry.'

(288) *mà-na-dailan*   = *o*
AVERT-ADVERS-illness 2SG.NOM
'You might get sick.'

4.4.2.7   Optative

The 'optative stance' is signaled by the prefix *fag-*. It is used to signal that a speaker wishes that an event would happen. The structure of verbs in this stance is similar to the avertive.
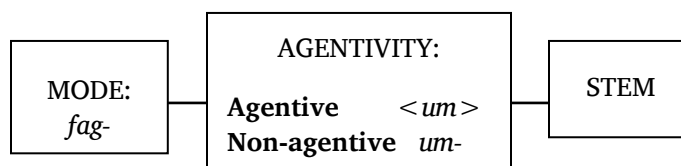
Figure 4.5. Form of a verb in the optative stance.

Like the avertive, the optative co-opts indicative affixes to mark agentivity, but the way in which it uses these is more straightforward. Agentive and non-agentive verbs are both marked with would-be projective affixes (see section 4.4.2.1 for the form of indicative projective affixes):

(289) *fag-umk-unum   fag-umk-unum*
OPT-NAGT-six   OPT-NAGT-six
'Please be a six, please be a six…'
(said by a child rolling a die)

(290) *lubyaŋ   lubyaŋ   baginawa*
string   string   spider

fag-s<um>a   ku   bale   baliwa
OPT-<AGT>ALL 1SG.GEN house   ADE
'May the spiderweb, the spiderweb / go towards my house.'
(rhyming spell cast by a character in a traditional narrative)

4.4.2.8   Secondary aspect affixes

Eastern Tawbuid has affixes which mark secondary aspects. These affixes are used in combination with affixes that mark stance and primary aspect to distinguish more specialised types of aspect. The secondary aspect affixes mark only aspect; they do not mark stance or agentivity. The overall form of verbs that take secondary aspect affixes can be seen in the diagram at the start of section 4.4.2.

In most cases, when a secondary aspect affix occurs on a verb, agentivity is marked in the same way that it is always marked in the imperative and the intentive stances; Ø- indicates that the verb is agentive, while *a-* indicates that it is non-agentive. Whenever a secondary aspect affix is present, adversative verbs are not marked any differently from non-agentive verbs.

The secondary aspects which have been identified in Eastern Tawbuid are the habitual, the conative, and two iterative/reciprocal forms.

4.4.2.8.1 Habitual

'Habitual aspect' in Eastern Tawbuid is formed using the secondary aspect affix *faN-* :

(291) *g-fan-tap*
     IPFV-HABIT-[AGT]-read
     'make a habit of reading'

(292) *ig-faŋ-a-toŋ*
     IPFV-HABIT-NAGT-fall
     'keep falling down'

4.4.2.8.2 Conative

The 'conative aspect' is used to indicate that the subject is trying to bring about the event which the stem refers to. This is marked in Eastern Tawbuid with the circumfix *ya- -un*:

(293) *g-ya-f-ate-un*
     IPFV-CON-[AGT]-CAUS-die-CON
     'try to kill'

(294) *nan-ya-saful-un*
     INTENT;IPFV-CON-[AGT]-know-CON
     'intend to try to find out'

4.4.2.8.3 Iterative/Reciprocal 1

There are two ways in Eastern Tawbuid to form verbs which refer to iterative action, both of which are also frequently used of reciprocal action. The simpler of these ways to form the 'iterative/reciprocal' consists of the suffix *-an*:

(295) *g-leleg-an*
     IPFV-[AGT]-live/move-ITER
     'move all about'

(296) *t<um>arabaŋ-an*
     <PROJ:AGT>help-ITER
     'will help one another'

    This form of the iterative/reciprocal is unique among the secondary aspect affixes in that the non-agentive is marked with the prefix *in-* rather than *a-*:

(297) *g-in-fuŋnuŋ-an*
     IPFV-NAGT-be.blocked-ITER
     'gets blocked up again and again'

(298) *at   lagnas =ŋani   g-in-kata   tuy-an   =wa   =ŋani*
     DET sand   {redundant} IPFV-NAGT-like this-ITER {already redundant}
     '(Like I said,) the sand was going like this again and again.'

4.4.2.8.4   Iterative/Reciprocal 2

The other way to form the iterative/reciprocal verb in Eastern Tawbuid is with the form *CVd- -an*:

(299) *nà-sid-siad-an*
      PFV-ITER-[AGT]-step.on-ITER
      'stepped all over'

(300) *g-fad-fa-layuŋ-an*
      IPFV-ITER-[AGT]-CAUS-be.dark-ITER
      'repeatedly try to put out [a fire]'

(301) *adk-a-fanyu-an-i*
      ITER-NAGT-feel.compassion-ITER-IMPV
      'Feel compassion for one another!'

There are complicated morphophonological alternations associated with this form, which are explained in section 2.6.3.6.

4.5   Noun morphology

Most Eastern Tawbuid nouns are unaffixed roots. They are also derived, however, from stems or from verbs and adjectives. The language has a wide array of derivational affixes.

In contrast with this abundance of derivational affixes, only two productive inflectional noun affixes have been identified: a morphological plural suffix for kinship nouns (section 4.5.1), and a prefix indicating acquisition (section 4.5.2). In the following discussion of noun affixes, I will deal with the inflectional affixes first, before delving into the derivational affixes (section 4.5.3).

4.5.1   Kinship noun plural: *-an*

Aside from kin terms for individuals (such as *tina* 'mother' and *kaka* 'older sibling'), Eastern Tawbuid has a few inherently dual kinship nouns. These nouns refer to two people who are in a specific kin relationship to each other, for example:

dugsay	'pair of siblings'
talame	'father and child'
talafu	'grandparent and grandchild'

When the suffix *-an* is added to a kinship noun like the ones given above, instead of referring to a pair of people, the noun instead refers to a group of at least three people whose relationships to one another fit within the same relationship that defined the dual form of the noun:

dugsay-an	'three or more siblings'
talami-an	'father and children'
talafu-an	'a grandparent and people descended from him/her'

When the *-an* suffix is attached to a kinship noun that refers to a group, either because the kin relationship inherently implies more than two people or because the noun already has an *-an* suffix attached to it, the noun then refers to a group of people defined by multiple occurrences of the relevant kin relationship:

talanan	'parents and at least one child'
talanan-an	'group consisting of multiple sets of parents and at least one child each'
talafu-an	'a grandparent and people descended from him/her'
talafu-an-an	'group consiting of grandparents and the people descended from each of them'[31]

Kinship nouns are the only nouns in Eastern Tawbuid that take a morphological plural. On other nouns, pluralisation is marked with a separate plural word (section 5.1.3).

4.5.2   Acquisition: *ba-*

The prefix *ba-* attaches to possessed nouns, and it indicates that the possessor acquired the referent of the noun by making it or by locating it in the environment.

(302) *am   ba-amunti*
       2SG.GEN ACQ-sweet.potato
       'your sweet potato (which you have gathered)'

(303) *ku   ba-sabi*
       1SG.GEN ACQ-basket
       'my basket (which I have just made)'

(304) *am   ba-almatuk*
       2SG.GEN ACQ-leech
       'the leech (which you have accidentaly picked up)'

4.5.3   Nominalising affixes

Eastern Tawbuid has a range of ways in which nouns can be derived. Most nominalising affixes attach directly to stems, which can either be plain roots, or a root plus one or more of the stem-deriving affixes introduced in section 4.2. Other nominalising affixes attach to verbs and adjectives. In these cases, a stem must have one of the verbal affixes introduced in sections 4.4.2.1–4.4.2.7 or one of the adjective-deriving affixes introduced in section 4.3 attached to it before one of these nominalising affixes can be added. In some well-defined situations, a verb or adjective can be nominalised without any additional affixation.

The following table shows a list (not exhaustive) of nominalising affixes in Eastern Tawbuid. As the list shows, some kinds of nominalisation are linked to particular grammatical relations (subject and object), whereas others are best explained in terms of semantic roles (e.g. 'instruments') or concepts (e.g. 'seasons').

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[31] The examples given in this section illustrate something else about Eastern Tawbuid kinship nouns: most of them begin with *tal-*. I haven't listed it among the inflectional noun affixes since it isn't productive. Almost all of the 'roots' that would be left if it was analysed as a productive affix never occur without *tal-*; there is no **ame, *afu,* or **anan* to match *talame, talafu,* and *talanan.*

Table 4.5. Nominalising affixes

SUBJECTS	Ø, ta- or k- **		
OBJECTS	na-		-an
Sources	na- -an	fag- -un **	
Reasons			
Means			
Goals	fag- -an **		-an
Locations			
Instruments	faN-		
Results	na- -an		
Remnants	nag- -an, naka- -an		
Seasons	faN- -un		
Extent	ka- -an		

**Attaches to verb/adjective rather than to a stem.

Another thing which this list shows is that in Eastern Tawbuid, the relationship between nominalising affixes and types of nominalisation is seldom one-to-one. Some affixes can form more than one kind of nominalisation; some kinds of nominalisation can be formed with more than one kind of affix.

4.5.3.1   Subject nominalisation

'Subject nominalisation' is a nominalisation strategy that derives nouns from verb stems. The derived nouns refer to the subject of the finite form of the verb. For example, if the subject of the verb in its finite form is an agent, then the equivalent subject nominalisation refers to an agent:

Finite verb:

(305) *nà-fon*   = *au*   *sik*   *gataŋ*   *bigas*
       PFV;AGT-give   1SG.NOM   DET   scoop   uncooked.rice
       'I gave a scoop of uncooked rice'

Subject nominalisation:

(306) *Ana*   *at*   *nà-fon*   *aŋku*
       Ana   DET   [NMLZ]PFV;AGT-give   1SG.ACC
       '*Ana* was the one who gave it to me.'

Likewise, if the subject of a verb is an experiencer, then the equivalent subject nominalisation refers to an experiencer:

Finite verb:

(307) *an*   = *au*   = *ŋaro*   *ka-limu*   *faŋkilat*
       DISCP   1SG.NOM   {admission}   IPFV;NAGT-be.afraid   lightning
       'I'm afraid of lightning.'

Subject nominalisation:

(308) *ta-ka-limu*   *falad*
        NMLZ-IPFV;NAGT-be.afraid   spirit
        'those who are afraid of spirits'

In this type of nominalisation, the nominalising affix encodes the aspect, stance and agentivity of the nominalised verb, and is similar or even identical to the corresponding finite verb affix. Compare the following list of indicative verbal affixes (section 4.4.2.1) and their nominalised equivalents:

Table 4.6. Indicative verbal affixes with their nominalized equivalents

Agentive	Indicative verbal affix	Subject nominalisation
Perfective	*ná-*	*ná-*
Imperfective	*g-*	*tag-*
Projective	*<um>*	*<um>*

Non-agentive	Indicative verbal affix	Subject nominalisation
Perfective	*in-*	*kin-*
Imperfective	*ka-*	*taka-*
Projective	*um-*	*kum-*

Adversative	Indicative verbal affix	Subject nominalisation
Perfective	*na-*	*na-*
Imperfective	*ga-*	*taga-*
Projective	*ma-*	*ma-*

As this table shows, prefixes that begin with a velar consonant acquire an initial *ta-* when nominalised, prefixes that begin with a vowel acquire an initial *k-*, and all other forms are unchanged. This holds true for all subject nominalisations, not just those that are made using indicative affixes. For example, the anticipative affixation *ga- -un* (section 4.4.2.5) becomes *taga- -un* when nominalised:

(309) *ta-ga-igus-un*
        NMLZ-ANTIC;IPFV;AGT-bathe-ANTIC
        'one who wants to bathe'

4.5.3.2 Object nominalisation

'Object nominalisation', formed with the prefix *na-*, is another nominalisation strategy that derives nouns from verb stems. The derived nouns refer to the object of a transitive verb formed on the same stem, as in the following examples.

Clause with transitive verb:

(310) *nà-fon*   *=au*   *emu*   *ku*   *fafil*
        PFV;AGT-give   1SG.NOM   2SG.ACC   1SG.GEN   written.thing
        'I gave you my book.'

Phrase with object nominalisation:

(311) *ku   na-fon   emu*
     1SG.GEN NMLZ-give 2SG.ACC
     'what I gave you'

Clause with transitive verb:

(312) *nan-loŋ   =k   =wan   ku   fag-ga-loŋ-un*
     INTENT-[AGT]-say 1SG.NOM {already} 1SG.GEN NMLZ-ANTIC:IPFV;AGT-say-ANTIC:NMLZ
     'I am going to say what I want to say.'

Phrase with object nominalisation:

(313) *em   na-loŋ   fag faŋaplan*
     1PL.GEN.EXCL NMLZ-say LNK token.gift
     'the token gift that we talk about'

4.5.3.3   *Source/reason nominalisation*

'Source/reason nominalisation', formed with the affix *na- -an*, derives nouns from verb stems. The derived nouns have the semantic role of source, or refer to more abstract reasons for the event referred to by the stems:

(314) *na-umsig-an*
     NMLZ-want-NMLZ
     'what is desired'

(315) *n-apl-an*
     NMLZ-be.shy-NMLZ
     'reason for being shy'

    This kind of nominalisation applies only to stems which can form emotion/sensation verbs (section 7.8).

4.5.3.4   *fag- -un nominalisation*

The nominalising affix *fag- -un* is versatile; its function overlaps with many other nominalising affixes. This circumfix attaches to fully-affixed verbs and adjectives:

(316) *fag-t<um>anud-un*
     NMLZ-<PROJ;AGT>watch.over-NMLZ
     'one who is to be watched over'

(317) *fag-ma-biat-un*
     NMLZ-ADJ-be.heavy-NMLZ
     'the reason why [it's] heavy'

    It also attaches to existential predicates (see section 3.2.2). When it does this, the circumfix goes around both the existential predicate and the exister:

(318) *fag-e*　　　*fiso-un*
　　　NMLZ-EXIST　knife-NMLZ
　　　'the means by which [one] comes to have a knife'

One function of *fag- -un* is to derive nouns which refer to the object of the nominalised verb. In this capacity, *fag- -un* overlaps with *na-* (section 4.5.3.2):

(319) *fa-g-tanum-un*
　　　NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-plant-NMLZ
　　　'what is to be planted'

The *fag- -un* affix also derives nouns referring to sources, thereby overlapping with *na- -an* (section 4.5.3.3):

(320) *fa-k-esug-un*
　　　NMLZ-IPFV;NAGT-love-NMLZ
　　　'one who is loved'

Another function of *fag- -un* is to derive nouns referring to the reason for an action or event:

(321) *fa-g-lugo-un*
　　　NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-be.a.long.time-NMLZ
　　　'reason for being a long time'

(322) *fag-in-basa-un*
　　　NMLZ-PFV;NAGT-be.wet-NMLZ
　　　'reason for having become wet'

This circumfix is also used to derive nouns referring to means:

(323) *fag-in-daga-un*
　　　NMLZ-PFV;NAGT-descend-NMLZ
　　　'means by which [someone] got down'

4.5.3.5　*fag- -an nominalisation*

Like *fag- -un*, the circumfix *fag- -an* derives nouns from verbs and adjectives rather than from stems. The derived nouns refer to locations:

(324) *fag-nan-bul-an*
　　　NMLZ-INTENT;IPFV-[AGT]-get-NMLZ
　　　'place where [someone] goes to get [something]'

(325) *fa-ka-tuŋkud-an*
　　　NMLZ-IPFV;NAGT-come.to.rest-NMLZ
　　　'place where [something] comes to rest'

(326) *fag-ŋ-ayu-an*
　　　NMLZ-ADJ-be.many-NMLZ
　　　'place where there are many'

4.5.3.6   Result nominalisation

'Result nominalisation' derives nouns from stems. The derived nouns refer to situations which result from the action or event which the stem refers to:

(327) *na-on-an*
       NMLZ-eat-NMLZ
       'the result of having eaten'

(328) *na-ate-an*
       NMLZ-die-NMLZ
       'the result of having died'

The circumfix used to derive result nominalisation, *na- -an*, is homophonous with the source nominalisation circumfix introduced in section 4.5.3.3, but they differ both in meaning and in distribution. Source nominalisation only occurs on stems that can form emotion/sensation verbs (section 7.8); I have never observed or elicited a result nominalisation formed on such a stem.

4.5.3.7   Remnant nominalisation

'Remnant nominalisation' derives nouns from stems and from other nouns. The derived nouns refer to the remnants of a class, or the remnants after an action or event has occurred. For example:

(329) *nag-latsik-an*
       NMLZ-plastic-NMLZ
       'leftover bits of plastic'

(330) *nag-turis-an*
       NMLZ-squeeze-NMLZ
       'what is left over after the squeezing out is finished'
       (referring to honeycomb which has had the honey squeezed out of it)

(331) *nak-apsug-an*
       NMLZ-have.a.full.stomach-NMLZ
       'leftover food'

Two affixes are used to form remnant nominalisation: *nag- -an* and *naka- -an*. The form *nag- -an* attaches to noun roots, as well as to stems that can form verbs using agentive affixes; the form *naka- -an* attaches to stems that only form verbs using non-agentive affixes.

4.5.3.8   *-an nominalisation*

The *-an* suffix derives nouns from stems. The derived nouns have a variety of semantic roles relative to the stem. Some refer to entities that are the patients of the action that the stem refers to:

(332) *tanum-an*
       plant-NMLZ
       'planted thing'

(333) *waris-an*
       sweep-NMLZ
       'place that was swept'

Some refer to instruments:

(334) *ranug-an*
       rock(v)-NMLZ
       'thing to pull to rock the hammock'

Some refer to locations:

(335) *balayŋ-an*
       sweet.potato-NMLZ
       'sweet potato field'

(336) *alin-an*
       move-NMLZ
       'place someone moves to'

When attached to stems that are used to form communication verbs (section 7.9), *-an* derives nouns referring to the theme:

(337) *foyuŋ-an*
       teach-NMLZ
       'teaching'

(338) *sugu-an*
       command-NMLZ
       'command (N)'

4.5.3.9   *Instrument nominalisation*

Instrument nominalisation, formed with the prefix *faN-*, derives nouns from stems and from other nouns. The derived nouns refer to an instrument used to complete the action denoted by the stem:

(339) *fan-sali*
       INS-pay
       'payment'

(340) *fan-tana*
       INS-cut.hold
       'thing for cutting a hold'

(341) *famayamag < faN-fa-yamag*
                     INS-CAUS-be.clear
       'explanation' (lit. 'thing for causing to be clear')

Instrument nominalisation is also used to derive nouns referring to languages:

(342) *faniganun < faN-siganun*
                    INS-lowlander
       'lowlander language' (esp. Tagalog)

(343) *fanaw buid* < *faN-taw buid*
                   INS-person upriver
    'upriver people's language'

    The logic behind this may be that a language is an instrument pertaining to a particular people group; so *faniganun* could also be glossed 'that [language] that is for lowlanders'.

4.5.3.10 Season nominalisation

Season nominalisation, formed with the circumfix *faN- -un*, derives nouns from stems. The derived noun refers to a season characterised by the repeated occurrence of a particular state, event, or action:

(344) *fan-sudyaŋ-un*
    NMLZ-be.sunny-NMLZ
    'dry season'

(345) *fan-gamas-un*
    NMLZ-clear.swidden-NMLZ
    'swidden-clearing season'

(346) *famuanun* > *faN-fuan-un*
                NMLZ-fell-NMLZ
    'tree-felling season'

4.5.3.11 Extent nominalisation

Extent nominalisation, formed with the circumfix *ka- -an*, derives nouns from stems and from adjectives. The derived nouns refer to quantity or extension:

(347) *ka-yayu-an*
    NMLZ-be.far-NMLZ
    'distance'

(348) *ka-biat-an*
    NMLZ-be.heavy-NMLZ
    'weight'

(349) *ka-ma-fufuama-an*
    NMLZ-ADJ-grandfather-NMLZ
    'extent of his old age'

5
Noun Phrases

This chapter is concerned with the syntax of Eastern Tawbuid noun phrases. As is true of the language's syntax in general, noun phrase syntax in Eastern Tawbuid differs from that of better-known Philippine languages in various ways.

In Eastern Tawbuid noun phrases, modifiers generally precede the head noun. This is unusual not only in the context of Malayo-Polynesian languages (Himmelmann 2005) but also in the context of the general typology of VO languages (Song 2010). There are also many restrictions on modifier co-occurrence within a single noun phrase.

In analysing Eastern Tawbuid noun phrases, it is important to distinguish between possessed and unpossessed noun phrases. Possessed noun phrases (e.g. *ku bale* 'my house') contain a genitive pronoun and/or a possessor noun phrase, while unpossessed noun phrases (e.g. *sik bale* 'a house') do not. The syntax of these two kinds of noun phrases differs in ways that go beyond the presence of a possessor: linkers cannot be used in possessed noun phrases, and the use of modifiers is far more restricted than in unpossessed noun phrases.

The following description of the syntax of the noun phrase in Eastern Tawbuid is split into four sections. Section 5.1 deals with the internal structure of unpossessed noun phrases, while section 5.2 explains how possessed noun phrases are formed. Section 5.3 deals specifically with the formation of noun phrases where the head noun is a nominalised verb. Finally, section 5.4 deals with the formation of appositive nominal constructions, which combine pairs of noun phrases.

5.1   Unpossessed noun phrases

Noun phrases in Eastern Tawbuid show a preference for modifiers to precede the head noun. Demonstratives, numbers, modifying noun phrases, as well as nominal and pronominal possessors (see section 5.2) must precede the head noun. There are, however, a few exceptions to this general tendency of right-headedness:

1. Adjectives can sometimes follow the head noun (see section 5.1.5).
2. Prepositional phrases which modify the head noun can either precede or follow it (see section 5.1.6).
3. In noun compounds, the head noun is the first noun, and the modifying noun follows it (see section 5.1.4).

The following shows the general linear order in an unpossessed noun phrase:

1. Determiner
2. Demonstrative
   or Adjective
   or Temporal adverb   + *fag* linker (section 3.2.5)
   or modifying NP/PP
3. Plural word
   or Number
   or Adjective   + *k* linker
   or Partitive word
4. Head noun (+ modifying noun)
5. Adjective
   or modifying PP

Of the various possible parts of an unpossessed noun phrase listed above, the only one that is obligatory is the head noun:

(350) *maŋama wa   k-on   utuk*
     man   NEG IPFV;AGT-eat brain
     'Men don't eat brains.'

In a simple noun phrase, no slot can be filled more than once. For example, in both natural texts and elicitation situations, native speakers never used two of the modifiers in slot 2 in the same simple noun phrase. As a result, the *fag* linker never occurred more than once in any noun phrase. However, a modifier from slot 2 could occur in the same phrase as a modifier from slot 3, e.g.:

(351) *tuy   fag sadi k   wat*
     DEM.PROX LNK one   LNK vine
     2   3   4
     'this one vine'

(352) *at   ma-sine   fag ŋay foyuŋ-an*
     DET   ADJ-be.good   LNK PL   teach-NMLZ
     1   2   3   4
     'the good teachings'

    Given this limitation, it may seem that the extent to which a noun can be modified in Eastern Tawbuid is severely restricted. Strictly speaking, this is true, but *only within simple noun phrases.* As will be shown in section 5.4, Eastern Tawbuid gets around these restrictions by juxtaposing two simple noun phrases to form an appositive nominal construction.
    The various positions and relationships within the simple noun phrase will now be discussed in more detail. The order of discussion follows the overall order of the noun phrase, except that those constituents which can occur in more than one position will be discussed last. For convenience's sake, I refer throughout this discussion to the different positions within the simple noun phrase as 'slot 1', 'slot 2', etc. By using this terminology, I am not implying that all of these slots can be filled in any given noun phrase; it is possible, for example, that some modifiers which occur in slot 2 can co-occur with a determiner in slot 1, while others cannot. Nevertheless, the 'slots' are useful generalisations, as they predict many word-order phenomena and co-occurrence restrictions within the noun phrase. They also link to morphology (i.e. *fag* linker in slot 2 and *k* linker in slot 3) and to general semantic functions (i.e. determiners in slot 1, miscellaneous modifiers in slot 2, and quantitative modifiers in slot 3).

5.1.1   Slot 1: Determiners

The determiners that my informants most commonly use and accept as correct are *sik* 'indefinite' and *at* 'definite'. A third determiner, *fag* 'definite', is used and accepted primarily by younger speakers.
 From a morphological point of view, the determiners are not a separate word class. The definite article *at* is also the 3rd person genitive pronoun, while *sik* resembles, and is sometimes interchangeable with, the number *sadi* 'one' plus the quantity linker *k*:

(353) *sik   sandan   ~ sadi k   sandan*
     DET   hundred   one   LNK   hundred
     'a hundred ~ one hundred'

    Similarity, or even identity, between the indefinite article and the number 'one' is common cross-linguistically (Dryer 2013), and so this range of function is hardly problematic. Despite some similarities, however, *sik* is syntactically distinct from the numerals when it functions as a determiner, in that it occurs in the first slot in the noun phrase:

(354) **sik** *ma-saful-an*   *fag* *taw*
     DET ADJ-know-RES LNK person
     1   2   4
     'a knowledgeable person'

Compare:

(355) *tuy*   *fag* **sadi k**   *wat*
     DEM.PROX LNK one LNK vine
     2   3   4
     'this one vine'

Likewise, *sik* can co-occur with the plural word *ŋay*, which goes in the same slot as numbers:

(356) *sik* *ŋay* *maŋena*
     DET PL   woman
     1   3   4
     'some women'

The definite article *at* goes in the same slot in the noun phrase as *sik*:

(357) *sik/at* *ŋay* *taw*
     DET   PL   person
     1   3   4
     'some/the people'

In some contexts, it is very difficult to determine whether *at* is functioning as a definite article or as the 3rd person genitive pronoun. Like the determiners, the genitive pronouns occur at the beginning of the noun phrase (compare 5.2.1), so *at* is often ambiguous between a determiner or a genitive interpretation:

(358) *at*   *fuyu*
     DET/3GEN youngest.sibling
     'the/their youngest sibling'

There is a tendency among some speakers to use a different morpheme, *fag*, for the definite article. This morpheme is homophonous with the slot 2 linker, but can be distinguished from it on syntactic grounds. Consider the following excerpt from a natural text produced by informant **C**:

(359) *ay* *fag* *ŋay* *ina*   *nu* *g-fan-yafun*
     and DET PL   woman SUB IPFV;AGT-ACQ-dinner
     'And how the women were gathering their dinner…'

In the noun phrase *fag ŋay ina* 'the women', it is clear that the *fag* morpheme is not a linker, since it is not linking any modifier to the head noun.

The differences between *at* 'definite' and *fag* 'definite' are sociolinguistic rather than semantic. Older and middle-aged speakers primarily use *at*, while younger speakers tend to use *fag*.

5.1.2 Slot 2: Most modifiers

The slot immediately following the determiner is the one where the greatest range of modifiers can occur. All the modifiers that occur in this slot must co-occur with the linker *fag*.

Demonstrative pronouns (section [3.2.3](#)) can occur in this slot:[32]

(360) *nin*   *fag* *ŋay* *ina*
      DEM.VIS LNK PL   woman
      2   3   4
      'those women'

(361) *ste*   *fag* *datag*   *lagnas*
      DEM.DIST.OBL LNK flatland sand
      2   4
      'the sandy flatland here'

Personal pronouns can also occur in this slot. In these cases, there is an identity between the referent of the pronoun and of the head noun:

(362) *am*   *fag*   *talanan*
      2PL.NOM LNK   family
      2   4
      'you(PL), that is, your family'

(363) *ami*   *fag* *ful-an*
      1PL.NOM.EXCL LNK be.gathered-NMLZ
      2   4
      'us, that is, our group'

Temporal adverbs (section [3.2.1](#)) can also go in the second slot:[33]

(364) *ebi*   *fag* *ŋay* *taw*
      back.in.time LNK PL   person
      2   3   4
      'people from long ago'

(365) *aro*   *fag* *menit*
      earlier.today LNK day
      2   4
      'this past day'

Aside from all of these, noun phrases can also occur as modifiers in the second slot of the noun phrase. Since a noun phrase is minimally a head noun, these noun phrases can be very short:

(366) *Biernes* *fag* *yabi*
      Friday   LNK night
      2   4
      'Friday night'

---

[32] When a demonstrative pronoun occurs, a determiner (slot 1) does not occur. Despite this, I am treating demonstratives as occurring in slot 2, because they take the *fag* linker and do not co-occur with any other modifiers which occur in slot 2.

[33] See section [9.4.3](#) for how these adverbs are treated outside of noun phrases.

(367) *em   fun   fag maŋena sirut*
      1PL.GEN.EXCL leader LNK woman little
      2   4   5
      'the little woman who was our leader'

The noun phrases which occur in slot 2 also include noun phrases with nominalised verbs as their heads. Functionally, these fulfill the role of the relative clause in Eastern Tawbuid (see section 5.3), and when these noun phrases occur in slot 2, the head noun which they modify is the head of the relative clause:

(368) *ta-g-fan-laklo   fag uŋa*
      NMLZ-IPFV-HABIT-[AGT]-go.out LNK child
      2   4
      'a child who habitually goes out'

(369) *at   fa-ka-sarare-an   fag sagiŋ*
      3GEN NMLZ[34]-IPFV;NAGT-lean.against-NMLZ LNK banana
      2   4
      'the banana tree which she fell against'

5.1.3   Slot 3: Quantifiers

The slot immediately preceding the head noun is filled by modifiers which deal with the quantity of the head noun. These modifiers come from diverse word classes: numbers, a plural word, one adjective, and one noun.

Of all the modifiers which occur in slot 3, only the plural word *ŋay* does not take the linker *k*. Instead, this word occurs immediately before the head noun, with no intervening element:

(370) *ka   fag ŋay taw*
      DEM LNK PL   person
      2   3   4
      'those people'

Apart from the plural word, the modifiers which occur in slot 3 are connected to the head noun by the linker *k*. Most of the modifiers that occur in this slot are numbers:

(371) *dua k   fun amunti*
      two LNK tree sweet.potato
      3   4
      'two sweet potato plants'

Eastern Tawbuid has a noun *iba* which is used to communicate the partitive.[35] When this noun functions as a modifier, it occurs in the same slot as the numbers, and is also linked to the head noun with the linker *k*:

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[34] The default form of this prefix is *fag-* (section 4.5.3.4), but there is no audible *g* in this case because of the devoicing of the /g/ (section 2.1.2.1) and subsequent geminate reduction (section 2.1.8).
[35] This is homophonous with the noun *iba* 'fellow one'.

(372) *t*   *iba*   *k*   *taw*
     DET   some   LNK   person
     1   3   4
     'some people' (as opposed to 'all people')

    The position of most adjectives within the noun phrase will be discussed in section 5.1.5, but it is worth noting that one adjective, *ŋayu* 'many', can occur in slot 3:

(373) *ŋ-ayu*   *k*   *taw*
     ADJ-be.many   LNK   person
     3   4
     'many people'

    This is presumably because *ŋayu* has a quantifying function. As section 5.1.5 will show, other adjectives, which refer to extension, quality, or temporary state, are grouped in slot 2 with most modifiers when they occur before the head noun.[36]

5.1.4   Slot 4: Head noun

5.1.4.1   Noun compounding

In most of the examples of noun phrases given so far, the head noun has been a single noun. Noun compounds do occur, however. In noun compounds, the first element is generally the head noun, and the second is a noun describing the head noun's class or composition:

(374) *bisu*   *daga*
     pot   earth
     'clay pot'

(375) *ubi*   *siganun*
     yam   lowlander
     'lowlander yam' (a type of yam; Tagalog *ube*)

(376) *bitis*   *alfaŋus*
     leg   palm.civet
     'leg of palm civet'

    There is a lot of evidence that noun compounding is productive in Eastern Tawbuid. For one, native speakers have been observed to use noun compounds for culturally-introduced referents, e.g.:

(377) *suklub*   *sarumun*
     lid   canned.food
     'can lid' (i.e. a can tab)

(378) *salanig*   *darafa*
     padding   foot
     'footwear' (but *sinilas* 'jandal' and *fatus* 'shoe' are more common)

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[36] The treatment of *ŋayu* varies from speaker to speaker. Some speakers only use *ŋayu* in slot 3, whereas others treat it like any other adjective by placing it in slot 2, e.g. *ŋayu fag siganun* 'many lowlanders'.

Native speakers can also form compounds which strike other native speakers as novel. When illustrating the word *sulfuan* 'joint' for me, one speaker produced:

(379) *sulfuan bitis*
     joint   leg
     'leg joint'

(380) *sulfuan take*
     joint   arm
     'arm joint'

Another speaker who was present objected, saying that one would express those concepts with *tud* 'knee' and *siu* 'elbow', and those were indeed the terms which I observed on all other occasions. What is interesting, however, is that although a compound like *sulfuan bitis* is evidently not part of normal usage, a native speaker could still form it. This would hardly be the case if noun compounding was not productive.

Noun compounds can also be nested:

(381) a. *wat amunti*
            vine sweet.potato
            'sweet potato vine'

      b. *mata wat amunti*
            eye   vine sweet.potato
            'eye of the sweet potato vine' (term for a spot on the vine where there is a cluster of leaves)

(382) a. *don talus*
            leaf taro
            'taro leaf'

      b. *futus   don talus*
            bundle leaf taro
            'bundle of taro leaf'

5.1.4.2   *Spatial nouns in compounds*

Eastern Tawbuid has nouns which refer to spatial concepts, and these nouns commonly occur in compounds:

(383) *tigyaŋan dafug*
     edge   fireplace
     'edge of the fireplace'

(384) *tuŋud   tafan*
     area.above log.ledge
     'area above the log ledge'

(385) *buid   fun*
     uphill stalk
     'uphill from the stalk'

Most of these spatial nouns can also occur without a postmodifying noun, e.g.:

(386) *s   tigyaŋan*
      OBL edge
      'at the edge'

(387) *si   t   tuŋud*
      LOC DET area.above
      'above'

(388) *taw   buid*
      person   uphill/upriver
      'upriver person' (In this compound, the spatial noun itself is the postmodifier.)

However, there are three spatial nouns that are defective. They only occur when postmodified by another noun. These are *wa* 'midst', *day* 'general vicinity' and *ŋaba* 'length/surface area'[37]:

(389) *wa   amunti*
      midst   sweet.potato
      'midst of a sweet potato patch'

(390) *day   bale*
      general.vicinity   house
      'general vicinity of the house'

(391) *ŋaba   salug*
      surface.area   floor
      'surface area of the floor'

5.1.4.3   *iba* in compounds

It has already been mentioned that *iba* is a word that occurs in slot 3 and marks the partitive. However, it has a different function to this when it occurs in noun compounds. Noun compounds in which *iba* is the first element have a superlative meaning.
     Only a few words can be used with *iba* in this way, and most of them are spatial nouns, as in the following examples:

(392) *t   iba   tuŋud*
      DET SUPER area.above
      'the top one'

(393) *t   iba   buid*
      DET SUPER upriver
      'the one who is farthest upriver'

5.1.5   Adjectives

Adjectives are the most variably-positioned parts of the noun phrase. In talking about the placement of adjectives, it is important to distinguish substantive adjectives, which function as nouns, from adjectives which are functioning as modifiers.

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[37] Note that *ŋaba* is also an adjective meaning 'long' or 'with a large surface area'.

5.1.5.1 Substantives

Adjectives can act as substantives without any additional marking. In this case, they occur in slot 4:

(394) *at   ma-layuŋ*
　　　DET ADJ-be.dark
　　　1   4
　　　'the dark one'

(395) *sik   ŋay   ma-useganan*
　　　DET PL   ADJ-rejoice
　　　1   3   4
　　　'some pleasing things'

5.1.5.2 Adjective modifiers

Unlike most parts of the Eastern Tawbuid noun phrase, adjectives show some variability in their position; nevertheless, one of these positions is clearly the preferred one. The unique position of the adjective *ŋayu* 'many' has already been discussed in section 5.1.3, so the discussion here will focus on the position of other adjectives.

　　　Adjectives can occur in slot 2 in the noun phrase, meaning that they occur before the head noun and take the linker *fag*. In natural texts, this is overwhelmingly the preferred position for a non-substantive, non-predicate adjective:

(396) *tagbut   fag   bale*
　　　big   LNK house
　　　2   4
　　　'big house'

(397) *at   ma-tuyan   fag   ŋay foyuŋ-an*
　　　DET ADJ-be.convinced LNK PL   teach-NMLZ
　　　1   2   3   4
　　　'the true teachings'

　　　Adjectives can follow the head noun, but this is rare in both the text collection and in my fieldnotes.[38] When adjectives do occur following the head noun, they are not linked to the noun with the linker:

(398) *yafun   dan*
　　　dinner old
　　　4   5
　　　'leftovers'

(399) *bale   dan*
　　　house old
　　　4   5
　　　'abandoned house'

---

[38] There are many instances in natural texts where an adjective occurs after a noun, but usually these adjectives are predicate adjectives, and therefore not part of the noun phrase at all.

(400) *bale   ŋ-abat*
    house   ADJ-be.tall
    4   5
    'tall house' (term for a particular two-storied house in the middle of Safa)

(401) *taw   ma-lagsi*
    person   ADJ-be.white
    4   5
    'white person' (general term for Caucasians)

In many cases, the noun-adjective ordering is more than the sum of its parts. The combination of a noun followed by an adjective has a specific, stereotyped referent which cannot be directly inferred from the meaning of the noun and the adjective alone. Compare *bale dan* 'abandoned house', *taw malagsi* 'white person', and *bale ŋabat* 'a certain tall house' with:

(402) *dan   fag   bale*
    old   LNK   house
    2   4
    'old house' (can be said of a house that's falling apart)

(403) *ma-lagsi   fag   taw*
    ADJ-be.white   LNK   person
    2   4
    'light-skinned person' (said of a Tawbuid woman)

(404) *ŋ-abat   fag   bale*
    ADJ-be.tall   LNK   house
    2   4
    'tall house' (what a person would say upon seeing a tall house for the first time)

In elicitation settings, native speakers seem very accepting of noun-adjective ordering, but this may be because they interpret these orderings as instances of a noun phrase followed by a predicate adjective. For example, informants readily accepted pairs of statements such as the following two as both being well-formed:

(405) *m-anyaŋ   fag   balukas*
    ADJ-be.blue/green   LNK   shirt
    'blue/green shirt'

(406) a. *balukas   m-anyaŋ*
      shirt   ADJ-be.blue/green
      'blue/green shirt'

However, it would be premature to conclude, based on this, that *balukas manyaŋ* is just as acceptable a noun phrase as *manyaŋ fag balukas*. The issue is that *balukas manyaŋ* could also be interpreted as a verbless clause (see section 9.1):

(406) b. *balukas   m-anyaŋ*
      shirt   ADJ-be.blue/green
      'The shirt is blue/green.'

In an elicitation setting, it is hard to determine which of these meanings native speakers are ascribing to such statements, given that the truth conditions for the phrasal and the clausal interpretation are the same. However, I suspect that the clausal interpretation is the more likely option, for a couple of reasons. First, informant **A** offered the following (unambiguously clausal) statement as an equivalent to *balukas manyaŋ*:[39]

(407) *balukas g-anyaŋ*
      shirt   IPFV;AGT-be.blue/green
      'The shirt is blue/green.'

Second, the same informant claimed that only *manyaŋ fag balukas* 'blue/green shirt' would be a contextually appropriate answer if a person was asked which shirt they were looking for. This distinction is most easily explained if *balukas manyaŋ* is interpreted as a clause, as in example (406b).

Given this evidence for a clausal interpretation, I consider the noun-adjective sequences which I elicited to be highly suspect, and the rarity of noun-adjective order in the natural text recordings corroborates this. My conclusion is that noun-adjective order in Eastern Tawbuid is possible, but it is more restricted and much more marked than adjective-noun order.

Curiously, there is a restriction against a noun being simultaneously modified by an adjective in slot 2 and a postposed adjective, as seen in the next two examples:

(408) *ma-sine   fag   bale*
      ADJ-desire LNK house
      'nice house'

(409) *bale   ŋ-abat*
      house ADJ-be.tall
      'tall house'

Example (410) ignores this restriction:

(410) **ma-sine   fag   bale   ŋ-abat*
      ADJ-desire LNK house ADJ-be.tall

Informants corrected the above phrase to the following (the comma marks an audible pause):

(411) *ma-sine   fag   bale   ,   ŋ-abat*
      ADJ-desire LNK house   ADJ-be.tall
      '[It's] a nice house. [It's] tall.'

Other attempts on my part to form noun phrases with more than one modifying adjective (e.g. by connecting two adjectives with the conjunction *ay*) resulted in informants either becoming confused or suggesting two-clause solutions like the one above.

5.1.6   Prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases which are part of a noun phrase can occur before or after the head noun. When they come before the head noun, they occur in slot 2, and take the linker *fag*:

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[39] Informant **C** was present at the time and raised no objections.

(412) *[si   t   dife]   =yaŋay   =unu   fag   siganun*
     LOC DET across.river {repeat} hearsay LNK lowlander
     2   4
     'the lowlander on the other side of the river'

When they come after the head noun, they do not take a linker:

(413) *at   taw   [sa   m   buid]*
     DET person ALL 2SG.GEN upriver.direction
     1   4   5
     'the people upriver from you'

(414) *at   ŋay   taw   [si   =ginan   sa   ŋay   ful-an]*
     DET PL   person LOC ABL   OBL PL   gather-NMLZ
     1   3   4   5
     'the people from the communities'

Most noun phrases in which a prepositional phrase occurs are headed by nominalised verbs. The internal syntax of these noun phrases is not quite the same as that of other noun phrases (see section 5.3).

5.2   Possessed noun phrases

Possessors in Eastern Tawbuid precede the head noun. The following shows the maximum form of a possessed noun phrase:
1. Temporal adverb
2. Possessor noun phrase *or* Prepositional phrase[40]
3. Genitive pronoun
4. Plural word *or* Number *dua*
5. Head noun (+ modifying noun)
6. Adjective *or* Prepositional phrase

As a comparison with the list in section 5.1 will show, many of the modifiers which can occur in a simple noun phrase do not occur in possessed noun phrases. In general, modifiers which require a linker to occur in an unpossessed noun phrase don't occur in possessed noun phrases. Exceptions are the temporal adverbs (section 3.2.1) and the numeral *dua* 'two'. These modifiers occur with linkers in unpossesed noun phrases, but without linkers in possessed noun phrases.

In the following section, the formation of possessive noun phrases is discussed. Instead of working from the first constituent to the last, in this section the discussion moves from the simplest kinds of possessive noun phrase to the most complex.

5.2.1   Genitive pronoun

The simplest way to express pronominal possession in Eastern Tawbuid uses only the genitive pronoun:[41]

(415) *ku   maŋena*
     1SG.GEN woman
     'my wife'

---

[40] See section 6.3.2
[41] See section 3.2.4 for the paradigm.

(416) *tam ŋay manuk*
     1PL.GEN.INCL PL   chicken
     'our chickens'

5.2.2　Plain possessive noun

Possessive nouns can be placed before the head noun without any special marking:

(417) *siraw bale*
     monster house
     'monster's house'

(418) *at balutu baŋsi*
     DET canoe floor
     'the floor of the canoe'

    Possessives are 'stackable' – possessive nouns can themselves be possessed:

(419) *m iba butan*
     2SG.GEN fellow.one pig
     'your fellow person's pig'

(420) *ay maguraŋ loŋ-an*
     2PL.GEN parent   say-NMLZ
     'your parents' speech'

    As a brief comparison of the preceding examples with the examples in section 5.1.4.1 will show, juxtaposing genitive nouns with head nouns creates a formal ambiguity between genitive constructions and noun compounds. Taking only surface structure into account, the genitive *iba butan* 'fellow person's pig' cited above is indistinguishable from the noun compound *iba ama* 'fellow man'. This does not appear to create problems for native speakers; in normal communication situations, one or the other interpretation is usually semantically implausible (e.g. in a normal communication situation, one would be unlikely to have occasion to refer to 'your fellow pigs'.) There are forms, however, where either a genitive construction or a noun compound is plausible, and in these cases more specific contextual information is needed to identify which construction is being used:

(421) *iba sisian*
     fellow.one child(ren)
     'fellow person's child(ren)' OR 'fellow children'

(422) *manuk bale*
     bird   house
     'chicken's shelter' OR 'domesticated bird'

    For some concepts, the genitive construction and the noun compound construction are used almost interchangeably. This is especially the case for phrases referring to parts of plants:

(423) *maŋa sariksik ~ sariksik maŋa*
     mango blossom   blossom mango
     'mango blossom'

(424) *amunti   wat   ~   wat   amunti*
     sweet.potato vine   vine sweet.potato
     'sweet potato vine'

    This flexibility of word order is the result of a relationship between modifier and head which can be expressed using either the genitive or a postmodifying noun. One can think of the relationship between the part of the plant and plant itself as a relationship between a part and a whole: a mango blossom is part of a mango tree, and a sweet potato vine is part of a sweet potato plant. However, one can also view the relationship as one of class membership: a mango blossom is a member of the class of things pertaining to mangoes; a sweet potato vine is a member of the class of things pertaining to sweet potatoes. In the part-whole view of the relationship, the modifying noun (e.g. 'mango' or 'sweet potato') refers to an individual plant; in the class membership view, the modifying noun refers to a class (e.g. 'the class of mangoes' or 'the class of sweet potatoes').

    In Eastern Tawbuid, part-whole relationships are expressed with a genitive construction, as examples (425) and (426) show, while class membership relations are instead expressed using noun compounds, as in examples (427) and (428).

(425) *balukas take*
     shirt   arm
     'shirt sleeve'

(426) *ŋeŋe   butul*
     baby   bone
     'baby's bones'

(427) *taw   Tipsan*
     person
     'people of Tipsan' (as opposed to *taw Safa* 'people of Safa' or *taw Mai* 'people of Mai')

(428) *manuk talun*
     bird   jungle
     'wild birds' (as opposed to *manuk bale* 'domesticated birds')

    What this suggests is that there are two underlying structures going on in alternations such as *amunti wat ~ wat amunti* 'sweet potato vine'. The first, *amunti wat*, is a genitive construction, on analogy with forms such as example (425) and (426), while the second, *wat amunti*, is a noun compound, on analogy with forms such as example (427) and (428).

    That these alternations are the result of two different underlying structures is supported by the way in which the noun *fun* behaves in these forms. The range of meaning of this noun includes the general 'tree' as well as the more specific 'trunk/stalk'. When *fun* occurs with the term for a plant type preceding it, it is interpreted as 'trunk/stalk':

(429) *sagiŋ   fun*
     banana   tree/trunk/stalk
     'stalk of a banana tree'

    On the other hand, if *fun* is postmodified by the noun referring to plant type, it is interpreted as 'tree':

(430) *fun   sagiŋ*
     tree/trunk/stalk banana
     'banana tree'

Notice that the first of these interpretations treats *fun* as a part of a whole banana tree, whereas the second interpretation treats *fun* as a member of the class of things associated with bananas. This suggests that *sagiŋ fun* is a genitive construction since part-whole relationships are often expressed with possessives, whereas *fun sagiŋ* is a noun compound, since this is how class membership is expressed.

5.2.3   Possessive NP + *at*

Possessive NPs can be used in conjunction with the 3rd person genitive pronoun *at* to modify a head noun:

(431) *kanya   faŋ   taw   at   ŋayan*
      DEM.DIST LNK person 3GEN name
      'that person's name'

(432) *ku   ŋeŋe   at   ayaŋ*
      1SG.GEN baby 3GEN intestinal.worm
      'my baby's intestinal worm'

Since *at* also functions as the definite article, one could also analyse this as optional definite marking on the head noun in a genitive construction. I am inclined to think that *at* is here functioning as a genitive pronoun, on analogy with the contrastive possessive forms in section 5.2.4, where genitive pronouns in all persons regularly co-occur with additional possessive marking.

5.2.4   Contrastive possession

In Eastern Tawbuid, contrastive possession is marked by placing a possessive phrase before the possessed noun phrase. As will be explained in section 6.3.2, possessive phrases are formed by adding a locative preposition to a noun phrase. If the noun phrase is a pronoun, it is in the accusative case:

(433) *si   at   ama at   fak-k-on-un*
      LOC   DET man 3GEN   NMLZ-IMPV;AGT-eat-NMLZ
      '<u>the man</u>'s food' (as opposed to the children's)

(434) *si   aŋku   ku   ba-ubi*
      LOC   1SG.ACC 1SG.GEN ACQ-yam
      '<u>my</u> yams' (as opposed to the mother-in-law's yams)

Note that the possessive phrase is used in addition to, not in place of, the genitive pronoun, resulting in a double-indexing of the possessor.

When the preposed possessive phrase is pronominal, the locative preposition is optional:

(435) *emu   am   butan*
      2SG.ACC 2SG.GEN pig
      '<u>your</u> pig' (the pig which the adressee was to carry, as opposed to what the speaker was to carry)

(436) *ayu   ay   maŋama*
      2PL.ACC 2PL.GEN man
      '<u>your</u> husbands' (as opposed to the speaker's husband)

5.2.5 Spatial nouns in possessed noun phrases

When spatial nouns occur with a genitive pronoun, they indicate a spatial relationship relative to the referent of that pronoun:

(437) *ku   tuŋud*
      1SG.GEN area.above
      'above me'

(438) *am   dife*
      2SG.GEN cross.river
      'across the river from you'

    The use of the genitive with spatial nouns is restricted to cases where the object of the spatial relationship can be referred to using a pronoun. If the object that is in a spatial relationship is referred to by a full noun rather than a pronoun, a noun compound is used, as is seen in the next two examples (and previously, in section 5.1.4.2):

(439) *lod   simban*
      downhill church
      'downhill from the church'

(440) *tuŋud   tafan*
      area.above log.ledge
      'area above the log ledge'

    The use of genitive pronouns on spatial nouns is more problematic than it might at first appear. The examples given above of genitive pronouns possessing spatial nouns only illustrate two genitive pronouns: 1st and 2nd person singular. In fact, these are the only possessive pronouns which spatial nouns in Eastern Tawbuid can be proven to take.[42] Native speakers use one of these two pronouns even when the situation could conceivably allow for the use of another pronoun. For example, I recorded one speaker using *ku dayu* 'area away from me' in a face-to-face communication situation to refer to a town over sixty kilometers away, and another using *am buid* 'upriver from you (SG)', when speaking to a large crowd of people. Many other such examples could be given. Attempts of mine to form spatial possessives using other genitive pronouns (e.g. **ta dife* 'across the river from us (DU)') were corrected by native speakers using 1st or 2nd person singular genitives.
    In narrative, speakers also make repeated use of spatial nouns possessed with 1st or 2nd person singular genitives, even if the speaker and the addressee play no role in the narrative, and even if the narrative is well removed in time. For example, the following was said by an informant of an event which she claimed to only have heard of from a preceding generation:

(441) *nu   sa   =wa   =unu   ku   dayu   ku   dayu   ku   dayu*
      when ALL {already hearsay} 1SG.GEN area.away 1SG.GEN area.away 1SG.GEN area.away

      ka   fag   ta-g-awaŋ   in-toŋ   sad   gubat
      DEM.DIST LNK NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-make.noise PFV;NAGT-fall INE jungle
      'When it was far, far, far away (from me), that aeroplane fell into a jungle'

---

[42] Spatial nouns may also be able to take the 3rd person genitive pronoun, but it is hard to prove this because of homophony between this pronoun and the genitive. Therefore, one could analyse *at lod* as 'downhill from him/her/it', but this phrase could also be analysed as 'the downhill direction'. As far as I have been able to determine, both interpretations are compatible with the way these forms are used by native speakers.

The following occurred in a folktale:

(442) *g-alo*   *=wa*   *=unu*   *at*   *ŋay* *kaka*   *sa*   *ku*   *buid*
IPFV;AGT-go.with {already hearsay} 3GEN PL older.sibling ALL 1SG.GEN upriver
'He went upriver (from me) with his older siblings.'

Examples (441) and (442) are from two different speakers; each speaker refers to herself when giving a spatial relationship, despite being aware that the event either occurred long ago or didn't occur at all. This pattern of usage is common in the recorded texts. (Refer to 'The Leaf-Cape' story in the Appendix for many more instances). Further study would be needed to fully understand this interesting phenomenon, but to my mind there are two possibilities: 1), it may be that even in narratives which are removed in time and of uncertain veracity, speakers of Eastern Tawbuid give directions in terms of where they or their addressees are located at the time of the storytelling, based on where they suppose the events communicated in the narrative to have occurred; or 2) , it may be that in narratives, the speech act participants are imagined as being 'situated' in the narrative itself, as if they were present at the events described. Movement away from an established location in the narrative context is therefore described as if it was movement away from a speech act participant's 'vantage point'. This second interpretation is supported by sentences such as the following, which occurred in a description of upland rice planting:

(443) *ig-sulat*   *daga*   *sa*   *m*   *dayu*   *sa*   *m*   *dayu*   *=ay*   *=sirut*
IPFV;AGT-hole earth ALL 2SG.GEN area.away ALL 2SG.GEN area.away {many little}
'They make many little holes, away from you, away from you, in the earth.'

In this sentence, the speaker is describing how men move through a swidden, making holes in the earth for the women moving along behind them to put seed into. Since this occurs in a general description of an event which occurs in a variety of locations, it does not make sense to take *am dayu* 'away from you' as referring to motion away from the point where the addressee is physically located during the communicative act. Rather, the description appears to be filmic. It is as if the addressee has a vantage point in the story, which the men are moving farther and farther away from. Further research into Eastern Tawbuid discourse would be needed, however, to come to a firm conclusion about this phenomenon.

A couple of the examples given so far have also illustrated another interesting aspect of the usage of possessed spatial nouns in Eastern Tawbuid: repetition. This is an iconic way of referring to protracted motion in a given direction, and repetition which functions in this way is not limited to spatial nouns, as shown by the following sentence about a man running for his life:

(444) *ka*   *fag* *ama* *=unu*   *nà-taruŋ*   *nà-taruŋ*   *nà-taruŋ*
DEM.DIST LNK man {hearsay} PFV;AGT-run PFV;AGT-run PFV;AGT-run

sa   *m*   *dayu*   *sa*   *m*   *dayu*
ALL 2SG.GEN area.away ALL 2SG.GEN area.away
'That man ran ran ran away (from you) away (from you).'

5.3   Noun phrases as relative clauses

An understanding of the syntax of possessed noun phrases is crucial to the understanding of an important subtype of noun phrase in Eastern Tawbuid, namely, the noun phrase with a nominalised verb or verb stem as its head. In a sense, these phrases fulfill the function of a headless relative clause, but language-internally, they are best viewed as a kind of noun phrase. A range of nominalisation affixes (section 4.5.3) enable relativisation on subjects, objects, and a variety of obliques.

In other words, Eastern Tawbuid can relativise on the top four positions in Keenan and Comrie's (1977) Accessibility Hierarchy, namely subject, direct object, indirect object, and oblique.[43] The following examples illustrate this. Note that the target position of relativisation is not expressed within the phrase containing the nominalised verb, even when the target position of relativisation is relatively far down the Accessibility Hierarchy:

(445) *at   nà-saksak*
      DET   [NMLZ]:PFV;AGT-plant.rootcrop
      'the one who planted'

(446) *at   na-saksak*
      DET   NMLZ-plant.rootcrop
      'that which was planted'

(447) *at   fa-g-saksak-un*
      DET   NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-plant.rootcrop-NMLZ
      'that which is planted' OR 'reason for planting'

(448) *at   fa-g-saksak-an*
      DET   NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-plant.rootcrop-NMLZ
      'the place where one plants'

In the following discussion, the internal syntax of a noun phrase with a nominalised verb or verb root is discussed in more detail. The section then closes with a brief mention of how such a noun phrase can be used to modify a noun.

5.3.1   Forming relative clauses

As was mentioned in section 5.3, when a verb or verb root is nominalised, the argument or oblique that the nominalisation refers to cannot be mentioned again within the same noun phrase. In other words, Eastern Tawbuid does not make use of what Keenan and Comrie (1977:92) call a "pronoun retention" strategy in forming relative clauses. Although the morphology of the nominalised verb or verb root varies depending on the relationship between the verb and the target of the relativisation, the syntax of the noun phrase formed around the nominalised verb or verb root remains essentially the same. Syntactically speaking, Eastern Tawbuid only has one relativisation strategy, and it only needs one, because it is amply supplied with morphological means for indicating various types of relativisation.

In a noun phrase headed by the nominalisation of a verb or verb root, arguments and obliques of the verb which are distinct from the referent of the nominalisation can still be expressed. Except for the subject, all of these are expressed in the same way that they would be expressed in a finite clause. For example, noun phrase objects follow the verb and are unmarked:

(449) a. *maŋama wa k-on   utuk*
         man   NEG IPFV;AGT-eat brain
         'Men don't eat brains.'

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[43] In my analysis of Eastern Tawbuid grammatical relations, I have identified an object relation (section 8.2.1), but I do not distinguish between direct and indirect objects. In such a situation, the second and third positions on the Accessibility Hierarchy are conflated. There are, however, some unresolved issues in my analysis of the object relation (see section 8.2.2).

b. *ta-k-on*   *utuk*
    NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-eat   brain
    'the ones who eat brains'

Likewise, anything which can be expressed using accusative pronouns in finite clauses can also be expressed using accusative pronouns in nominalized verb phrases. In both cases, the accusative pronoun occurs after the verb:

(450) a. *nà-falaŋ*   =*au*   *emu*
          PFV;AGT-strike   1SG.NOM   2SG.ACC
          'I struck you'

      b. *at*   *nà-falaŋ*   *emu*
          DET   [NMLZ]:PFV;AGT-strike   2SG.ACC
          'the one who struck you'

(451) a. *k-apla*   =*au*   *emu*
          IPFV;NAGT-be.shy   1SG.NOM   2SG.ACC
          'I am shy of you.'

      b. *ku*   *n-apl-an*   *emu*
          1SG.GEN   NMLZ-be.shy-NMLZ   2SG.ACC
          'the reason why I am shy of you'

(452) a. *g-foyuŋ*   =*au*   *ayu*
          IPFV;AGT-teach   1SG.NOM   2PL.ACC
          'I teach you.'

      b. *ku*   *fa-ga-foyuŋ-un*   *ayu*
          1SG.GEN   NMLZ-ANTIC:IPFV;AGT-teach-ANTIC;NMLZ   2PL.ACC
          'what I want to teach you'

Prepositional phrases are also expressed in the same way in nominalised verb phrases as they are in finite clauses. Compare:

(453) *ig-suad*   *at*   *tina*   *ba-amunti*   *sa*   *at*   *sabi*
      IPFV;AGT-put.inside   3GEN   mother   ACQ-sweet.potato   ALL   3GEN   basket
      'She was putting the sweet potato her mother had gathered into her basket.'

(454) *at*   *na-suad*   *sa*   *at*   *fag-suad-an*
      3GEN   NMLZ-put.inside   ALL   DET   NMLZ-put.inside-NMLZ
      'what they had put in the container'

In short, with respect to non-subject arguments and adjuncts, the syntax of a noun phrase headed by a nominalised verb is overwhelmingly clause-like. However, when it comes to the expression of the subject of the nominalised verb, the syntax becomes entirely nominal. In a relative clause, the subject argument is treated as the possessor of the nominalised verb, and all of the syntax of possession (as outlined in section 5.2) comes into play. For example, pronominal subjects in relative clauses are expressed using genitive pronouns:

(455) *ta*   *na-fa-sine*
      1DU.GEN.INCL   NMLZ-CAUS-be.good
      'what we have caused to be good'

(456) *ay*   *na-limata-an*
      2PL.GEN   NMLZ-hate-NMLZ
      'the one whom you hate'

(457) *ku*   *fag-banwan-an*
      1SG.GEN   NMLZ-reside-NMLZ
      'the place where I reside'

In the same vein, noun phrase subjects of nominalised verbs are expressed in the same way as noun phrase possessors. They are either juxtaposed (see section 5.2.2 for comparison) or used alongside a genitive pronoun (section 5.2.3):

(458) *ku*   *fadugsay*   *na-fagbulun*   *sa*   *aŋku*
      1SG.GEN   sibling   NMLZ-do   ALL   1SG.ACC
      'what my siblings did to me'

(459) *Ana*   *at*   *na-fon*
      Ana   3GEN   NMLZ-give
      'what *Ana* gave'

5.3.2   Negation

Negation in noun phrases, including those with nominalised verbs or verb roots as heads, makes use of the negator *(g)yud* (section 3.2.10.1):

(460) *at*   *yud*   *mà-lo*
      DET   NEG   POT;IPFV;AGT-walk
      'the one[s] who can't walk'

The negator *(g)yud* precedes the nominalised verb or verb root, in much the same way that clause-level negators precede verbs that are not nominalised.

The presence of *(g)yud* in a noun phrase affects the form of certain nominalisations. Object nominalisations (section 4.5.3.2) are unaffected, as are subject nominalisations (4.5.3.1) where the nominalised form of the verb is identical to the usual form. On the other hand, subject nominalisations where the nominalised form differs to the usual form of the verb do undergo a change. When *(g)yud* is used, the affixes on a verb that undergoes subject nominalisation are always the same as the affixes for the form of the verb that is not nominalised. For example, the verb *kafandiug* 'be in accord' takes the non-agentive prefix *ka-*, and therefore its nominalised form is normally *takafandiug:*

(461) *sik*   *ta-ka-fandiug*
      DET   NMLZ-IPFV;NAGT-be.in.accord
      'one who is in accord'

However, if the negator *(g)yud* is used, the additional *ta-* prefix indicating subject nominalisation is dropped:

(462) *at   yud   ka-fandiug*
      DET NEG IPFV;NAGT-be.in.accord
      'those who are not in accord'

In short, if the negator *(g)yud* is used alongside a subject nominalisation, the nominalised verb will not have any nominalising affixes.

When used with either a *fag- -un* or a *fag- -an* nominalisation (sections 4.5.3.4 and 4.5.3.5), *(g)yud* behaves differently again. Normally, in these nominalisations, the appropriate circumfix attaches to the root to be nominalised. However, when *(g)yud* occurs in a noun phrase with one of these nominalisations, the circumfix attaches not to the nominalised verb, but rather to *(g)yud* itself:

(463) *tam   fun   at   fag-yud-un   ka-dasug*
      1PL.GEN.INCL leader 3GEN   NMLZ-NEG-NMLZ   IPFV;NAGT-arrive
      'the reason why our leader has not arrived'

(464) *at   fag-yud-un   nà-fa-lo   sa   s   tindan-an*
      DET   NMLZ-NEG-NMLZ   PFV;AGT-CAUS-go   ALL   OBL   shop-NMLZ
      'the reason for not letting him/her go to where the shops are'

Sometimes, *(g)yud* behaves like a root. It can take a resulting state suffix (see example (215)) and it can also take a causative prefix. Given this, it is not overly surprising that it can also take nominalising affixes. What is perhaps more problematic is the apparent inconsistency in the way that the nominalising affixes interact with it. If the affixes for *fag- -un* and *fag- -an* nominalisation treat *(g)yud* as a root and attach to it, why don't the affixes for other kinds of nominalisation react to *(g)yud* as if it is a root?

I note that in some speakers' production, *(g)yud* does occur with a subject nominalisation affix:

(465) *ta-gyud   saful*
      NMLZ-NEG   know
      'the one who doesn't know'

5.3.3   Head nouns?

Since nominalised verbs form noun phrases, they already contain a head noun. Accordingly, they are often integrated into clauses on their own, without modifying any other noun:

(466) *in-tabu   =wan   ku   fa-ga-loŋ-un*
      PFV;NAGT-finish   {already}   1SG.GEN   NMLZ-ANTIC:IPFV;AGT-say-ANTIC;NMLZ
      'What I want to say is finished.'

(467) *nà-fabali   =au   =dawdaw ku   fadugsay na-fagbulun sa   aŋku*
      PFV;AGT-avenge   1SG.NOM   {much}   1SG.GEN   sibling   NMLZ-do   ALL   1SG.ACC
      'I have gotten a great revenge for what my siblings did to me.'

There are ways, however, for one of these noun phrases to be used to modify a noun. One of these noun phrases can be integrated into a simple noun phrase in the same way that any other noun phrase is, by placing it in slot 2 and linking it to the head noun with the linker *fag* (section 5.1.2):

(468) a. *at   na-fon   antam*
          3GEN   NMLZ-give   1PL.ACC.INCL
          'what he gave us'

b. *at   na-fon   antam   fag ŋay ugali*
    3GEN NMLZ-give 1PL.ACC.INCL LNK PL   custom
    'the customs he gave us'

(469) a. *tam   na-adal*
          1PL.GEN.INCL NMLZ-study
          'what we have studied'

       b. *tam   na-adal   fag fafil*
          1PL.GEN.INCL NMLZ-study LNK document
          'the document that we have studied'

A noun phrase formed on a nominalized verb can restrict the meaning of another noun phrase when it occurs in an appositive nominal construction, although whether it technically modifies this other noun phrase is a different matter. This issue will be explored in the following section on appositive nominal constructions.

5.4   Appositive nominal constructions

5.4.1   Formation and function

Appositive nominal constructions in Eastern Tawbuid are formed from two juxtaposed noun phrases, which can be possessed or unpossessed. There is no morphological marking that links these noun phrases together, and both noun phrases could be stand-alone noun phrases. For example, the following appositive nominal construction is formed from two possessed noun phrases (section 5.2) which simply occur in sequence:[44]

(470) *em   fare em   fan-tanum*
      1PL.GEN.EXCL rice 1PL.GEN.EXCL INS-plant
      'our rice   our thing for planting'
      i.e. 'our rice for planting'

Similarly, the following appositive nominal construction is formed from two noun phrases, one possessed (section 5.2) and one unpossessed (section 5.1):

(471) *em   sabi   at ma-yuŋ*
      1PL.GEN.EXCL basket   DET ADJ-be.smooth.surfaced
      'our basket   the smooth-surfaced one'
      i.e. 'our smooth-surfaced basket'

In the following discussion, I will refer to the noun phrases which make up the appositive nominal construction as the 'component' noun phrases. Despite the lack of any morphological marking which links the two component phrases, the appositive nominal construction has a single referent. While syntactically these constructions look very much like noun phrases in apposition, what sets appositive nominal constructions apart from simple apposition is that semantically, one component noun phrase restricts the meaning of the other. For example, in the example cited above, the second component noun phrase 'the smooth-surfaced one' indicates that a special type of basket is in view.

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[44] Throughout this section, when I give an example of an appositive nominal construction, I provide two translations. In the first translation, I translate the two juxtaposed noun phrases individually, to help the reader see the internal structure of the appositive nominal construction. In the second translation, I translate the appositive nominal construction as a whole.

In addition to the semantics of these constructions, there is evidence from several levels of the language that an appositive nominal construction is treated as a single unit. For example, when a prepositional phrase is formed from an appositive construction, only one preposition is needed:

(472) *sa*   *m*   *dayu*   *ŋaba*   *dalan*
     ALL   2SG.GEN   area.away   length   path
     'to   area away from you   length of path'
     i.e. 'away along the path'

Additionally, an appositive nominal construction behaves prosodically like one noun phrase. For example, take the phrase *em sabi at mayuŋ* 'our smooth-surfaced basket' which was mentioned above. This occurred in the following sentence about the rice harvest:

(473) *nu*   *ma-lesan*   *=wan*
     SUB   ADJ-be.ripe   {already}

     g-uba   *=wa*   *=mi*   *em*   *sabi*   *at*   *ma-yuŋ*
     IPFV;AGT-bring   {already}   1PL.NOM.EXCL   1PL.GEN   basket   DET   ADJ-be.smooth.surfaced

     ay   *sik*   *kustal*
     and   DET   sack
     'When it is ripe, we bring our smooth-surfaced basket and a sack.'

The following shows the sound file of this sentence, with pitch shown in blue, and the section corresponding to *em sabi at mayuŋ* 'our smooth-surfaced basket' highlighted:
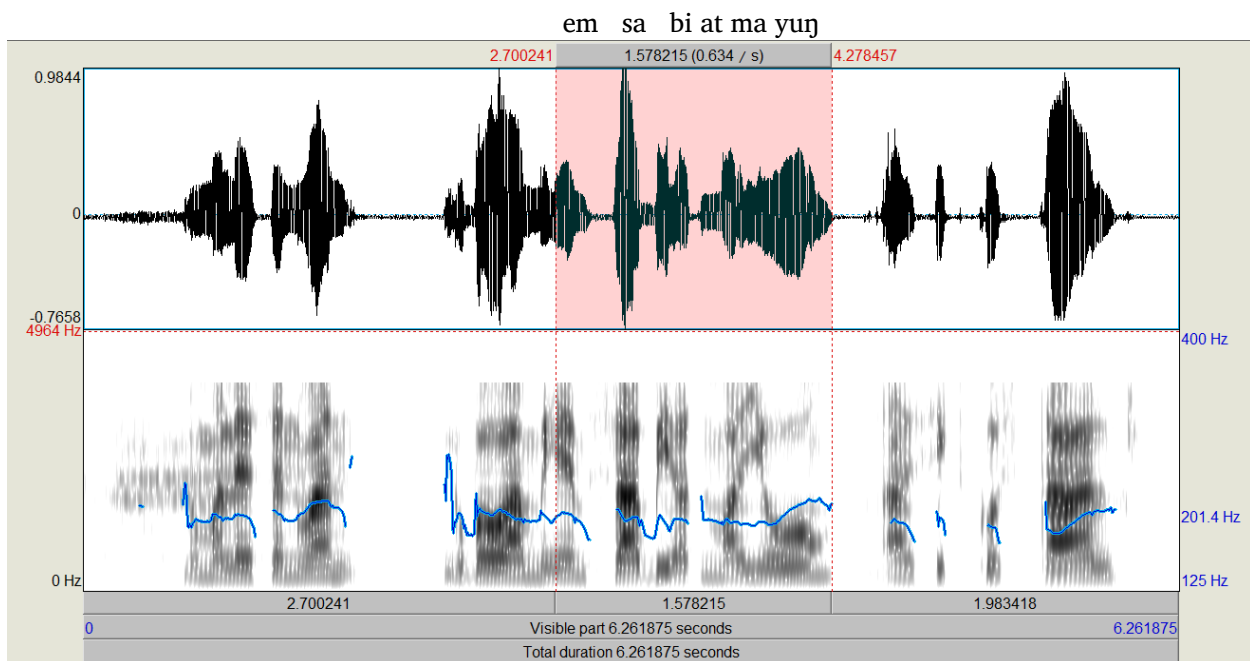
Notice that there is no pause within the appositive nominal construction, while there is a noticeable pause after it, before the following, coordinated noun phrase *sik kustal* 'a sack'. This suggests that the appositive nominal construction *em sabi at mayuŋ* 'our smooth-surfaced basket' forms a single unit in a sense that the coordinated noun phrases *em sabi at mayuŋ ay sik kustal* 'our smooth-surfaced basket and a sack' do not. Aside from this, each intonational phrase in this sentence ends with a rise in pitch and some lengthening of the final vowel, which is a pattern that this speaker seems to use (even at sentence

boundaries) to signal that she has not yet finished her thought. No such pitch rise and lengthening occurs at the end of the first component noun phrase in *em sabi at mayuŋ*; as far as the prosody goes, the whole thing is one phrase.

In simple noun phrases (both possessed and unpossessed) the order of components is rigid (sections 5.1 and 5.2). In appositive nominal constructions, however, the order of occurrence of the component noun phrases is flexible. Compare the following pairs:

(474) *at   sadi ku   kwintu*
DET   one 1SG.GEN story
'the one   my story'
i.e. 'one story of mine'

(475) *em   fadugsay at   sadi*
1PL.GEN.EXCL sibling   DET one
'our sibling   the one'
i.e. 'one sibling of ours'

(476) *tam   iba   fan-loŋ-an   tam   na-duŋug*
1PL.GEN.INCL   fellow.one INS-speak-NMLZ 1PL.GEN NMLZ-hear
'our companion's speech   what we have heard'
i.e. 'our companion's speech that we have heard'

(477) *tam   na-duŋug tam   ŋay paksa*
1PL.GEN.INCL   NMLZ-hear 1PL.GEN.INCL PL   topic(Tagalog)
'what we have heard   our topics'
i.e. 'our topics that we have heard'

Alternations such as these suggest that appositive nominal constructions are not sensitive to what kind of heads the component noun phrases have: a 'true' noun, a substantive adjective or a nominalised verb. This is further evidenced by appositive nominal constructions where both component noun phrases have nominalised verb or verb root heads:

(478) *at   na-lag   at   ta-ka-on*
3GEN   NMLZ-see DET NMLZ-IPFV;NAGT-eat
'that which he saw   that which could be eaten'
i.e. 'what he saw that could be eaten'

(479) *ta-g-una   at   nan-bap*
NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-go.first DET INTENT;IPFV-[AGT]-defecate
'the one who goes first   the one who went to defecate'
i.e. 'the first one who went to defecate'

Given examples such as this, it is difficult to say that one of the two component noun phrases is the modifier and the other is the head.

Appositive nominal constructions fulfill an important function in Eastern Tawbuid noun phrase syntax. As has been discussed in preceding sections (5.1 and 5.2), Eastern Tawbuid places several restrictions on the amount and variety of modifiers that can occur in any one noun phrase. The possibility of forming appositive nominal constructions in Eastern Tawbuid functions as a syntactic 'workaround'; it enables speakers to describe a single referent with noun phrase modifiers that cannot co-occur within the same simple noun phrase. Take the following appositive nominal construction:

(480) *kanya*   *fag* *taw*   *aro*   *at*   *na-bantay*
      DEM.DIST   LNK person   earlier   3GEN   NMLZ-spot
      'that person   the one whom she had spotted earlier'
      i.e. 'that person whom she had spotted earlier'

In a simple noun phrase, a head noun cannot be simultaneously modified by two noun phrases (see section 5.2). Therefore, the demonstrative pronoun *kanya* and the possessive noun phrase *aro at nabantay* cannot both modify *taw*, if one is restricted to simple noun phrases. The appositive nominal construction above, however, sidesteps this restriction by treating *aro at nabantay* as a separate component noun phrase. The result is a pair of juxtaposed noun phrases that conform with the restrictions on unpossessed and possessed noun phrases respectively, but which refer to a single referent and are treated as a single nominal construction.

As an additional example, take:

(481) *tam*   *danyu* *ta-g-uyan*[45]
      1PL.GEN.INCL   song   NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-go.last
      'our song   the last one'
      i.e. 'our last song'

Since *taguyan* is a nominalised verb, in a simple noun phrase it would need to be linked to the head noun with a *fag* linker (see section 5.1.2). However, the phrase *tam danyu* is possessed, and modifiers which require a linker do not occur in possessed noun phrases (section 5.2). However, by treating *taguyan* as a separate component noun phrase, it can be used alongside *tam danyu* to form an appositive nominal construction.

However, appositive nominal constructions are not only used in cases where a simple noun phrase is impossible. Take the following example:

(482) *ta*   *uban*   *at* *ma-tiŋid*
      1DU.GEN.INCL   carrying.strap   DET   ADJ-be.sturdy
      'our carrying strap   the sturdy one'
      i.e. 'our sturdy carrying strap'

As was mentioned in section 5.2, adjectives can modify nouns in possessed noun phrases. In some cases, appositive nominal constructions seem to simply reflect an avoidance of long simple noun phrases.

5.4.2   *fag-* prefixed quantifiers: component NPs?

Quantifiers that take the prefix *fag-* (section 3.2.7) can occur at the beginning or the end of the noun phrase:

(483) *fag-ayu*   *tam*
      QUANT-be.many   1PL.NOM.INCL
      'all of us'

(484) *am*   *fag-ayu*
      2PL.NOM   QUANT-be.many
      'all of you'

Both orderings are common, and as far as I have been able to determine, they are interchangeable. For example, the following two noun phrases were produced by the same speaker, in the same text:

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[45] The root meaning 'go last' is actually *guyan*, but only one [g] can normally be heard in the form *taguyan* due to geminate reduction (section 2.1.8).

(485) a. *fag-ayu*   *fag-ayu*   *ay*   *ambag*
      QUANT-be.many QUANT-be.many 2PL.GEN bag
      'absolutely all of your bags'

(485) b. *em*   *ambag* *fag-ayu*   *fag-ayu*
      1PL.GEN.EXCL bag   QUANT-be.many QUANT-be.many
      'absolutely all of our bags'

Given this flexibility, it seems likely that these are instances of compound noun phrases, where the *fag-* prefixed quantifier forms one of the component noun phrases. This is further supported by the fact that *fag-* prefixed quantifiers can function as stand-alone noun phrases:

(486) *fag-ayu*   *kamul*
     QUANT-be.many IPFV;HABIT:[AGT]:take
     'All of them were stealing.'

6
Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional phrases in Eastern Tawbuid can communicate a wide variety of specific spatial relationships. The way in which this is achieved is far from straightforward. It is a multi-part system, with inner and outer prepositions as well as second-position clitics. There are irregularities, overlaps in function, and one preposition that falls outside of this system. A single prepositional phrase can (and sometimes must) contain more than one preposition. The availability and even the form of some of these prepositions is affected by the form of the noun phrase which is subsumed into the prepositional phrase.

In this analysis, I have divided Eastern Tawbuid prepositions into three groups, depending on where they occur in a prepositional phrase and what other prepositions (if any) they occur with. Each of these groups is very small. I also include three second-position clitics in my analysis of prepositional phrases, as these three clitics occur primarily or exclusively in prepositional phrases.[46] The functions of each of the prepositions and the three spatial clitics that occur in prepositional phrases are described in sections 6.3–6.6.[47]

Table 6.1. Preposition groups and clitics that occur in prepositional phrases

Outer prepositions[a]	Inner prepositions	Standalone preposition	Second-position clitics
si locative	*s(a)* general oblique	*kata* resemblance	=*ginan* ablative
sa allative	*sad* inessive		=*baliwa* adessive
			=*kabat* terminative

[a] There is some variation in the precise form of these prepositions. For some speakers, *sa* and *si* vary with *a* and *i*. In some speakers' production, they take the forms *tsi* 'locative' and *tsa* 'allative' when they take prefixes or when they are preceded by the subordinator *nu*.

Outer and inner prepositions regularly co-occur, with the outer preposition preceding the inner preposition. These two groups of prepositions and the three spatial clitics can also co-occur. The standalone preposition *kata* behaves quite differently, in that it does not co-occur with other prepositions or with second-position clitics.

I begin each of the following sections by explaining the rules relating to prepositional phrase formation in Eastern Tawbuid using outer prepositions, inner prepositions, and second-position clitics (section 6.1–6.2). This explanation is followed by more detailed information on the function of each of these three groups (section 6.3–6.5) as well as the standalone preposition *kata* (section 6.6). After this, I touch briefly on the role of oblique demonstratives in forming prepositional phrases (section 6.7). The chapter ends with a description of one fascinating property of Eastern Tawbuid prepositional phrases: they can be used as verbs (section 6.8).

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[46] See section 3.2.14 for an overview of the clitic system.

[47] It must be said that this is only a preliminary discussion. The relationship between the various prepositions in Eastern Tawbuid is far from straightforward, and even native speakers can have conflicting intuitions about when a given preposition is appropriate. The level and distribution of interspeaker variation regarding the usage of adpositions suggests that this aspect of the grammar is undergoing language change. Aside from this, there are also collocations where the link between the spatial relationship and the choice of preposition is not readily apparent. For example, motion towards or location on a flat area of land is expressed not with the allative or the locative, but with the inessive: *sad datag* 'to/at the flatland'.

6.1 Phrases with inner prepositions

When the subsumed noun phrase is unpossessed (section 5.1) and undetermined, that is, does not contain a determiner (see section 5.1.1), the maximal form of an Eastern Tawbuid prepositional phrase is as follows:

1 Outer preposition
2 Clitic
3 Inner preposition

                    OR

4 Noun phrase (without possessor or determiner)
5 Clitic

Of all these possible components, only the inner preposition and the noun phrase are obligatory:

(487) *s*   *fan-moyan-un*
      OBL NMLZ-rain-NMLZ
      'during rainy season'

(488) *sad*   *babay*
      INE   hammock
      'in the hammock'

One of the inner prepositions, *s(a)* 'general oblique' has two forms. In most environments, it is just *s*, as in the example above. However, if it is immediately followed by the plural word *ŋay* (see section 5.1) or the spatial noun *ŋaba* (see section 5.1.4.3), it takes the form *sa*:

(489) *sa*   *ŋaba*   *menit*
      OBL length   day
      'during the whole day'

(490) *sa*   *ŋay* *fatan*
      OBL PL   animal.trail
      'among the animal trails'

In addition to the obligatory inner preposition and noun phrase, outer prepositions and clitics can form part of a prepositional phrase. Outer prepositions come at the beginning of the prepositional phrase. Clitics either intervene between the outer and inner prepositions, as in example (491), or come at the end of the phrase, as in example (492):

(491) *si*   =*ginan* *sad* *sablay-an*
      LOC ABL   INE   cross.hill-NMLZ
      'out of the highlands' (outer preposition *si,* clitic =*ginan,* inner preposition *sad*)

(492) *si*   *s*   *Uan* =*kabat*
      LOC OBL   TERM
      'as far as *Uan*' (outer preposition *si,* inner preposition *s,* clitic =*kabat*)

6.2 Phrases without inner prepositions

As was mentioned in the previous section, if a noun phrase in Eastern Tawbuid contains no possessor and no determiner, an inner preposition is necessary when that noun phrase forms part of a prepositional

phrase. On the other hand, if a noun phrase is possessed (section 5.2), or if it contains a determiner (section 5.1.1), no inner preposition is used when it is subsumed into a prepositional phrase. Only the outer preposition and the noun phrase are obligatory:

(493) *sa   sik   taw*
      ALL[48] DET person
      'to a person'

(494) *sa   ku   dalan*
      ALL 1SG.GEN path
      'to my path'

Clitics can also occur:

(495) *si   tam   iba   =baliwa*
      LOC 1PL.GEN.INCL fellow.one ADE
      'in the area of our fellow people'

This way of forming a prepositional phrase also applies if the subsumed noun phrase is a personal pronoun (section 3.2.4) or a clausal nominalisation (section 10.3):

(496) *si   aŋku*
      LOC 1SG.ACC
      'mine'

(497) *sa   =baliwa nu   g-fan-yaŋo*
      ALL ADE   SUB IPFV;AGT-ACQ-deadwood
      'regarding the gathering of deadwood'

6.3   Outer prepositions

6.3.1   Allative

The allative *sa* is used when there is motion with respect to the object of the preposition. As a result, allative prepositional phrases are used to refer to direction obliques:

(498) *nà-ulul   =unu   sa   s   laŋbud kayu*
      PFV;AGT-climb {hearsay } ALL OBL tip   tree
      'He climbed to the tip of the tree.'

(499) *ig-lo   =ta   =unu   sa   s   Baŋluan*
      IPFV;AGT-go 1DU.NOM.INCL {hearsay } ALL OBL *Baŋluan*
      'Suppose we're going to Baŋluan.'

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[48] Readers may notice the preposition *sa* is treated an a general oblique in examples (489) and (490) but as an allative in examples (493) and (494). This is because these are two different prepositions that become homophonous in certain environments.

6.3.2 Locative

The locative *si* is used to refer to location at the referent of the object of the preposition:

(500) *si   s   bale*
     LOC OBL house
     'at the house'

(501) *si   ku   sumyu*
     LOC 1SG.GEN finger
     'on my finger'

Note that the function of the locative can overlap with the inessive:

(502) *si   s   ugun*
     LOC OBL roof
     'in the roof' (i.e. inside the thatch of the roof)

The locative is also used to form possessive phrases:

(503) *si   emu*
     LOC 2SG.ACC
     'yours'

(504) *si   ku   ŋeŋe*
     LOC 1SG.GEN youngest.child
     'my youngest child's'

These possessive phrases can precede a possessed noun phrase to indicate contrastive possession (section 5.2.4), but they can also stand alone:

(505) *si   t   maŋena gàka-lifuŋ-un   =way*
     LOC DET woman   ANTIC:IPFV:NAGT-split-ANTIC   {bad}
     'The woman's one was about to split.'

6.4   Inner prepositions

Inner prepositions can either occur alone or with outer prepositions. In the case of the general oblique marker *s,* co-occurring with an outer preposition helps to indicate a more specific spatial relationship than what the general oblique marker does alone. In the case of the inessive marker *sad*, however, the presence of an outer preposition does not have any noticeable effect on the spatial relationship that is indicated by the preposition.

6.4.1   General oblique

The general oblique marker *s* can be used to mark a variety of spatial and temporal obliques. For example, it can mark direction obliques:

(506) *an-i   =wa   =loŋ   aut-i   s   bale*
     DISCP-IMPV {already emphatic} transport-IMPV OBL house
     'Bring it to the house!'

It can also mark location:

(507) *sik   maŋena   =unu   ma-lindug s   tuŋud   muyud*
     DET woman {hearsay} ADJ-stand OBL area.above   ridge
     'A woman is standing at the top of a ridge.'

More commonly, however, the general oblique marker occurs after an outer preposition (section [6.3](#)). When this occurs, the general oblique marker is semantically redundant. The presence of the general oblique marker satisfies the requirement for an inner preposition, if the subsumed noun phrase has certain properties (section [6.1](#)), but it does not add any meaning to that of the outer preposition. For example, compare the following two statements:

(508) a. *g-uli   =wa   sa   s   bale*
        IPFV;AGT-go.home {already} ALL OBL house
        'He goes home to [the] house.'

      b. *g-uli   =wa   =unu   sa   t   bale*
        IPFV;AGT-go.home {already hearsay} ALL 3GEN house
        'And he goes home to his house.'

The same kind of oblique relationship is being communicated in these two statements. The general oblique is present in the first one and absent in the second only because in the first statement, the noun phrase that is subsumed into the prepositional phrase contains no possessor or determiner (section [6.1](#)), while in the second statement, a possessor is present (section [6.2](#)). The same oblique relationship which an outer preposition conveys by itself is also conveyed by the combination of an outer preposition and the general oblique.

6.4.2   Inessive

The inner preposition *sad* 'inessive' is ambiguous between 'location in' (inessive proper) and 'motion into' (illative):

(509) *sad   babay*
     INE   hammock
     'in the hammock'

(510) *lag   tifus   sad dafug*
     NEG;IMPV urinate INE hearth
     'Don't urinate into the hearth.'

Like the general oblique marker *s*, *sad* co-occurs with the outer prepositions *sa* and *si*. Unlike the general oblique marker, however, the meaning communicated by *sad* does not seem to be affected by the presence of an outer preposition. For example, when the outer preposition *sa* occurs by itself or with the general oblique marker, it communicates an allative meaning. However, *sa* and *sad* can co-occur without implying any kind of motion. For example:

(511) *sa   sad ruŋab   kayu bulawi   bale*
     ALL INE hollow.space tree   kind.of.bird house
     'The *bulawi* bird's home is in the hollow of a tree.'

If an inessive sense is needed in prepositional phrase containing a possessed or determined noun phrase, instead of using the inner preposition *sad* 'inessive', a spatial noun is used (section [5.1.4.2](#)):

(512) *si   em   basad   buyug*
 LOC 1PL.GEN.EXCL interior small.basket
 'in our small baskets'

6.5   Clitics in prepositional phrases

In addition to the prepositions, Eastern Tawbuid also has three spatial clitics that occur in prepositional phrases:

 =*ginan*   ablative
 =*baliwa*   adessive
 =*kabat*   terminative

These clitics can occur before or after the subsumed noun phrase. When they precede the subsumed noun phrase, they occur after the outer preposition, but before the inner preposition (if present):

(513) *si   =ginan s   fan-gamas-un*
 LOC ABL   OBL HABIT-clear.swidden-NMLZ
 'from swidden clearing season'

(514) *sa   =wa   =baliwa s   bale*
 ALL {already} ADE   OBL house
 'already in the direction of the house'

These clitics can also occur at the end of the prepositional phrase:

(515) *ste   =ginan*
 DEM.PROX.OBL ABL
 'from here'

(516) *si   em   fagwan =kabat*
 LOC 1PL.GEN waist   TERM
 'as far as our waists'

When any of these spatial clitics occur in this position, they can appear similar to the spatial nouns discussed in sections [5.1.4.2](#) and [5.2.5](#). However, these two categories behave in quite different ways syntactically. To begin with, phrases which use spatial nouns to convey spatial relations have a different word order to phrases that use spatial clitics. When a spatial noun is used, it functions as the head of the noun phrase, and is therefore *followed* by any nouns which happen to modify it:

(517) *sa   s   daga   fun   amunti*
 ALL OBL space.below stalk sweet.potato
 'below the sweet potato stalk'

However, when a spatial clitic is used in the postposed position, it is *preceded* by the noun phrase about which it is communicating a spatial relation:

(518) *s   buid   fun   =baliwa*
 LOC uphill stalk ADE
 'in the direction of an area uphill from the stalk'

The difference between spatial nouns and spatial clitics becomes even more clear when one considers how these forms interact with pronouns. When a spatial noun is used to communicate a spatial relationship to a pronominal referent, the pronoun is expressed as a genitive:

(519) *sa   ku   buid*
       ALL 1SG.GEN uphill
       'uphill from me'

In contrast with this, the pronoun used with a spatial clitic is in the oblique case:

(520) *sa   aŋku   =baliwa*
       ALL 1SG.ACC ADE
       'in my direction'

The reason for this difference is simple. Although prepositions are usually needed in the English glosses of spatial nouns, this is a limitation of using English as a metalanguage. As nouns, they can be possessed with genitive pronouns. Spatial clitics, on the other hand, are optional add-ons to prepositional phrases, and so do not alter the structure of the noun phrase that the prepositional phrase is formed on. Spatial clitics therefore occur in conjunction with accusative pronouns, since pronouns that are the object of a preposition take accusative case marking:

(521) *sa   aŋku*
       ALL 1SG.ACC
       'to me'

6.5.1   Ablative

The ablative =*ginan* is used when there is motion out of or away from the object of the preposition. It combines with the outer preposition *si* 'locative' and both inner prepositions. When =*ginan* and *si* co-occur with or without the general oblique *s*, the result is a simple ablative:

(522) *si   =ginan at   babay*
       LOC ABL   DET hammock
       'from the hammock'

(523) *si   =ginan s   fa-dua   k   safulu*
       LOC ABL   OBL ORDINAL-two LNK ten
       'starting on the 20th (of the month)'

When used in conjunction with the locative and the inessive, the result is an elative sense:

(524) *si   =ginan sad afuy*
       LOC ABL   INE fire
       'out of the fire'

6.5.2   Adessive

The adessive =*baliwa* is used when something moves towards or is positioned in the general direction of the object of the preposition. The adessive and one of the two outer prepositions co-occur in prepositional phrases. When used with the allative, the meaning of the adessive is 'motion towards something':

(525) *sa   emi   =baliwa*
     ALL 1PL.ACC.EXCL ADE
     'towards us'

In a more abstract sense, the combination of the allative and the adessive can also mean 'about/regarding':

(526) *sa   tam   fag-saful-un   =baliwa*
     ALL 1PL.GEN.INCL NMLZ-know-NMLZ ADE
     'regarding what we know'

When the adessive is used with the locative or general oblique, on the other hand, it carries the sense of being positioned in the general direction of, but not necessarily within, the referent of the object of the preposition:

(527) *i   s   bayan =wa   =baliwa*
     LOC OBL town {now} ADE
     '[It's] now over in the town area.'

(528) *s   balabag   =yay   =baliwa*
     OBL morning {still} ADE
     '[It was] still around morning.'

6.5.3   Terminative

The terminative *=kabat* is used when something goes as far as, but no further than, the object of the preposition. It co-occurs with the locative:

(529) *si   em   fagwan =kabat*
     LOC 1PL.GEN.EXCL waist   TERM
     'as far as our waists'

(530) *si   =tua   =kabat s   Pinamalayan*
     LOC {good} TERM   OBL
     'properly as far as Pinamalayan'

6.6   Standalone preposition *kata*

There is at least one other preposition in Eastern Tawbuid, *kata,* which is used to indicate resemblance:

(531) *kata unwaŋ*
     like   water.buffalo
     'like water buffalo'

(532) *kata am   na-saful*
     like   2SG.GEN NMLZ-know
     'like what you know'

(533) *kata antam*
     like   1PL.ACC.INCL
     'like us'

The preposition *kata* does not co-occur with any other kind of preposition, or with the spatial clitics.

6.7   Oblique demonstratives

Oblique demonstratives (section 3.2.3) function as if they have a subsumed preposition. They can take spatial clitics:

(534) *ste* = *ginan*
DEM.PROX.OBL   ABL
'from here'

(535) *sna* = *ginan*
DEM.VIS.OBL   ABL
'from there (visible)'

(536) *sanya* = *ginan*
DEM.DIST.OBL   ABL
'from there'

They can also replace an outer preposition within a prepositional phrase. Compare the following pairs of phrases:

Outer preposition			**Oblique demonstrative**			

(537) a. *si*   *t*   *buid*
LOC   DET   uphill
'uphill'

     b. *ste*   *t*   *buid*
DEM.PROX.OBL   DET   uphill
'here uphill'

(538) a. *sa*   *sad*   *gubaŋ*
ALL   INE   cliff
'into the cliff'

     b. *sanya*   *sad*   *abat*
DEM.DIST.OBL   INE   cliff
'there into the cliff'

(539) a. *sa*   *s*   *tigyaŋan*
ALL   OBL   edge
'at the edge'

     b. *sanya*   *s*   *tigyaŋan*   *dafug*
DEM.DIST.OBL   OBL   edge   hearth
'there at the edge of the hearth'

Perhaps the oddest way in which this property of oblique demonstratives manifests itself is in noun phrases with a modifying demonstrative. As was discussed in section 5.1, these demonstratives precede the head noun:

(540) *kanya*   *fag*   *ŋay*   *taw*   *buid*
DEM.DIST   LNK   PL   person   upriver
'those upriver people'

A noun phrase like this is made into a prepositional phrase by replacing the initial direct demonstrative with an oblique demonstrative:

(541) *sanya*   *fag*   *taw*   *buid*
DEM.DIST.OBL   LNK   person   upriver
'to that upriver person'

What is curious about this is that the oblique demonstrative is simultaneously a noun phrase modifier *and* the head of a prepositional phrase. It is a fused form with one part of its meaning (distal demonstrative) subsumed under the noun phrase, and another part (oblique) functionally outside of the noun phrase.

6.8   Verbalisation of prepositional phrases

In Eastern Tawbuid, prepositional phrases can be turned into verbs by the addition of verbal affixes to a preposition. For example:

(542) *Uan nà-sa   sad bukŋa*
      Uan PFV;AGT-ALL INE space.between
      '*Uan* moved into the gap.'

Not all prepositions can take verbal affixes. The only ones which I have found to do so are the allative *sa* (section 6.3.1) and the standalone preposition *kata* (6.6). Inner prepositions (6.4) do not, so a prepositional phrase formed with only an inner preposition and a noun phrase cannot be verbalised. There is no restriction, however, on verbalising prepositional phrases which do contain inner prepositions and/or spatial clitics (section 6.5), provided that an outer preposition is present. An outer preposition, an inner preposition, and a spatial clitic are all present in the following example:

(543) *nà-sa   s   k-e   Uan =baliwa*
      PFV;AGT-ALL OBL NMLZ-EXIST *Uan* ADE
      '[It] went towards where *Uan* was.'

As the preceding two examples illustrate, when allative *sa* is verbalised, it takes agentive verbal affixes.[49] The standalone preposition *kata* can take both agentive and non-agentive affixes:

(544) *an   =ami   ig-kata   tuy*
      DISCP 1PL.NOM.EXCL IPFV;AGT-like DEM.PROX
      'We act like this.'

(545) *at   k-um-kat   anya*
      DET   NMLZ-PROJ;NAGT-like 3ACC
      'the one[s] who will become like that'

The second of these two examples is a noun phrase. Note that a verb formed from a prepositional phrase can be nominalised, just like other verbs.

Another way to form a verb from a prepositional phrase is to attach a causative prefix (4.2.3.1) to a preposition. This can be done to the outer prepositions *sa* 'allative' and *si* 'locative' as well as the standalone preposition *kata*. The 'causativised' preposition in the prepositional phrase then takes agentive verb affixes, like any other stem derived using a causative prefix, as in the following example:

(546) *nà-fa-tsa   =unu   s   k-e   lino   ma-fuŋkuk   faɡ fusa*
      IPFV;AGT-CAUS-ALL {hearsay} OBL NMLZ-EXIST water ADJ-be.short DET cat
      '[They] reportedly took the cat to the Short Water (i.e. Lake Naujan) area.'

Another example can be seen in line 32 of 'The Carrying-Strap' text in the Appendix.

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[49] See section 4.4.1.1 for an overview of what agentivity means with respect to Eastern Tawbuid verbs. The verbal affixes used in the examples in this section can all be seen in section 4.4.2.1.

7
Verb Class

In section [4.4](), the various affixes that have been observed to occur in Eastern Tawbuid verbs are discussed in detail. As mentioned in that section, agentivity is an important part of the verbal affixation system. Every verb is assigned one of three agentivity types, which I am calling 'agentive', 'non-agentive', and 'adversative'. Speaking in general terms, verbs are marked as 'agentive' when the subject is an agent that is in control of the action, as 'non-agentive' when the subject is not an agent or not properly in control, and as 'adversative' when the subject is adversely affected by the event or condition referred to by the verb.

The goal of this chapter is to move from generalisations about agentivity to specifics, namely, to explain which verbs can be assigned which agentivity types, and what the implications of agentivity marking are on a given type of verb. In this explanation, I have found it helpful to use the concept of a 'verb class', by which I mean a group of verbs that share certain semantic properties. In Eastern Tawbuid, the verbs which belong to a particular class not only have semantic similarities, but they also interact with agentivity marking in similar ways.

In the following chapter, I go through the various verb classes that I have observed and explain how agentivity marking works for each class of verbs. Some verb classes can only take one kind of agentivity marking; most take two. Aside from identifying what agentivity values can be assigned to verbs in each class, I also look at what these agentivity values mean for each class of verbs. For some verbs, the effects of variation in agentivity values are exclusively semantic. For others, this variation has syntactic implications.

Most of the verb classes mentioned in this section are familiar ones which come up frequently in analyses of verbal systems, but there are cases where I divide verb classes in ways that are not typical, because that division better fits the morphosyntax of this language.

Transitivity, which relates to verb class, is a problematic issue in the current stage of analysis of Eastern Tawbuid grammar. While the verbs in some classes are clearly transitive, allowing both a subject and an object relation, and others are clearly intransitive, there are some that sit ambiguously between these two categories. These quasi-transitive verbs appear to allow two core NPs to occur with them in a clause, but while one of these NPs can be shown to be in a subject relation to the verb, evidence is lacking to conclude that the other NP is in an object relation (see section [8.2.2]()).

7.1   Action-Process verbs

'Action-process verbs' are canonically transitive verbs. They are verbs which describe actions in which there is a clear agent and patient, and a clear transfer of energy from the agent to the patient. These include verbs formed on stems like *falaŋ* 'strike', *ukas* 'throw', *fon* 'give', *awat* 'make' and many more.

Action-process verbs can all take both agentive and non-agentive marking. When these verbs occur with agentive marking, the agent of the action is treated as the subject, and the patient is the object, as in the following example:

(547) *ig-fon*   *=au*   *ku*   *babay*   *sa*   *sik*   *taw*
       IPFV;AGT-give 1SG.NOM 1SG.GEN hammock ALL DET person
       'I give my hammock to a person.'

All these stems which form action-process verbs can also take non-agentive affixes. With the vast majority of these, the effect of using a non-agentive affix is to form an impersonal passive, where the patient (which would be the object if an agentive affix were used) becomes the subject, and the agent (if there is any) is unexpressed. Compare the following pair of examples:

(548) *na-awat*   *=k* *=wa* *=fiafia* *ku* *dafug*
    PFV;AGT-make 1SG.NOM {already strictly.true} 1SG.GEN hearth
    'I have really made my hearth.'

(549) *ink-awat*   *=wan* *ku* *ba-sabi*
    PFV;NAGT-make {already} 1SG.GEN ACQ-basket
    'My basket is made.'

The structure of example (548) is the same as that of example (547). In example (548), the root *awat* 'to make' takes an agentive affix, the subject (the 1st person singular nominative pronoun) is the agent, and the object (*ku dafug* 'my hearth') is the patient. In example (549), on the other hand, the root *awat* takes a non-agentive affix, and the subject (indeed, the only argument in the clause) is the patient (*ku basabi* 'my basket').[50]

There are a handful of action-process verbs which behave differently when passivised. For this small set of verbs (only three have been identified so far), the agent of the action can sometimes be expressed even if the verb is passivised, using a bare NP. However, upon closer inspection, the 'agent' in every structure of this kind turns out not to have the semantic role of an agent, strictly speaking, but rather that of a 'force' (Payne 1997:49). These structures are discussed in detail in section 8.3.2.

7.2 Action verbs

Action verbs are a class of verbs which refer to actions that are typically performed by animate agents, without reference to whether this action has much effect on anything else. Like action-process verbs, action verbs refer to actions rather than states or events, but unlike action-process verbs, action verbs do not necessarily imply the presence of a patient that is acted on. If there is a patient in an action that is referred to by an action verb, it is either relatively unaffected by the action, or the verb does not really communicate the degree to which it was affected. In other words, action verbs are much more about the nature of an action than its results. Action verbs include verbs formed on bases like *alo* 'to accompany', *fanya* 'to wait/await', and *eŋas* 'to breathe'.

Action verbs take agentive affixes, and the subjects of these verbs are always agents. Like action-process verbs, some action verbs can also take non-agentive affixes, but the difference between action-process verbs and action verbs is that on action-process verbs, the presence of non-agentive affixes marks passivisation, whereas on action verbs, the presence of the non-agentive marks the potentive. The subject of an action verb has the same semantic role, regardless of whether the verb takes agentive or non-agentive affixes:

(550) *g-fanya*   *=k* *=yay* *ayu*
    IPFV;AGT-wait 1SG.NOM {still} 2PL.ACC
    'I am still waiting for you.'

(551) *dewa*   *=am* *g-lugo,*   *in-fanya* *=ak* *=tua*
    even.though 2PL.NOM IPFV;AGT-be.long PFV;NAGT-wait 1SG.NOM {good}
    'Even though you took a long time, I managed to wait.'

Many action verbs allow an NP other than the subject to occur in the clause. At present, the status of this NP is problematic. For lack of a better term, I am calling it a 'quasi-object NP' (see section 8.2.2).

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[50] As is the case throughout this chapter, I am not demonstrating here that a particular NP stands in a subject or object relation to the verb. Demonstrations of this can be found in chapter 8, specifically sections 8.1 and 8.2.

7.3   Process verbs

Process verbs are a large class of verbs that refer to the subject of the clause undergoing a change of state. Process verbs include verbs formed on stems such as *raska* 'to become red', *tagbvt* 'to become bigger', *lumak* 'to become soft', and *altu* 'to explode'. With few exceptions, process verbs take one argument, a subject:

(552)   *at   daga   ka-lumak*
        DET ground IPFV;NAGT-be.soft
        'The ground becomes soft.'

Eastern Tawbuid also treats some verbs referring to atmospheric phenomena (such as *menit* 'to become day') as process verbs. These verbs differ from other process verbs in that they take no subject:

(553)   *nu   ka-menit   =wa   =unu*
        SUB IPFV;NAGT-be.day {already hearsay}

        at   maŋena =unu   g-danyu   =wan
        DET woman {hearsay} IPFV;AGT-sing {already}
        'As the day was breaking, the woman began singing.'

Process verbs are formed with non-agentive affixes.

7.4   Production verbs

Production verbs refer to producing or expelling something into the environment. Examples of stems that form verbs in this class are *bap* 'to defecate', *suŋo* 'to give off steam', and *taguk* 'to bleed'. Most of the stems that form verbs in this class also function as nouns referring to the thing which these verbs produce (so *bap* 'feces', *suŋo* 'steam', and *taguk* 'blood').

I have included in this class verbs referring to sound production, such as *awaŋ* 'to make noise', *uni* 'to call (of an animal)'. Like other verbs in this class, the stems of these verbs also tend to function as nouns referring to the product of the verb (e.g. *awaŋ* 'noise', *uni* 'animal's call')

Also included among production verbs are a subset of verbs which refer to atmospheric events. These include verbs formed on the stems *moyan* 'to rain', *sudyaŋ* 'to be sunny', and *tagmara* 'to be windy'. What sets these verbs apart from other verbs referring to atmospheric events is that they all refer to the presence of something in the atmosphere. I have grouped them with production verbs because they take the same affixation, and because they follow the general pattern of production verbs in that their stems can also act as nouns referring to the product of the event (e.g. *moyan* 'rain', *sudyaŋ* 'sunlight', and *tagmara* 'wind').

The affixation of production verbs is simple. They take only agentive affixes. Except for verbs referring to atmospheric events, they all take the source of the product as their subject:

(554)   *t   iba   k   kayu g-lutik   =ayuayu*
        DET some LNK wood IPFV;AGT-spark {many}
        'Some kinds of wood give off a lot of sparks.'

(555)   *sik manuk g-uni   =wa   =gugat   si   ay   tuŋud   sabi*
        DET bird   IPFV;AGT-call {already duration} LOC 2PLGEN area.above basket
        'A bird is already singing above your basket.'

Production verbs referring to atmospheric events take no arguments at all:

(556) *ga-moyan-un* = *siriŋ* = *dawdaw*
      ANTIC;IPFV;AGT-rain-ANTIC {wonder much}
      'It really seems to be about to rain.'

7.5   Path of motion verbs

With regards to Eastern Tawbuid motion verbs, it is important to maintain a distinction between verbs that refer to the path of a motion and verbs that refer to the manner of a motion. 'Path of motion' verbs include verbs formed on stems like *ato* 'to ascend', *dasug* 'to arrive', and *bariwas* 'to tilt (intransitive)'. These verbs all take non-agentive affixes, and treat the agent of the motion as the subject:

(557) *ka*   *fag* *imuk*   *ka-dasug*   = *yay* = *fia* *sa* *em*   *bale*
      DEM.DIST LNK monkey IPFV;NAGT-arrive {repeat   } ALL 1PLGEN.EXCL house
      'That monkey arrives at our house again.'

7.6   Manner of motion verbs

Verbs that describe the manner in which a motion is carried out, that is, 'manner of motion verbs' include verbs formed on stems such as *taruŋ* 'to run'*, ulul* 'to climb', *layug* 'to fly', and *daŋsal* 'to slip'. These verbs use agentive affixes if the agent of the motion is viewed as being fully in control of the motion; if the agent is not really in control, non-agentive affixes are used.

    For example, take the following two clauses containing verbs formed on the root *layug* 'to fly'. In example (558), the one doing the flying does so under its own power; in example (559), the one doing the flying is carried by the wind:

(558) *manuk* *nu* *nà-layug*   *si* *s*   *wa*   *buadan* *aniluŋ*
      bird   SUB PFV;AGT-fly LOC OBL midst fruit   kind.of.tree
      'If a bird flies amongst the fruit of an *aniluŋ* tree…'

(559) *mà-n-layug*   *at*   *ugun*
      AVERT-NAGT-fly DET roof
      'The roof might fly off.'

    The difference in control is marked by the co-occuring verb affix.

7.7   Thought/Perception verbs

In Eastern Tawbuid, what are commonly called 'psych verbs' fall into a several different classes, each of which has its own distinct morphosyntactic properties. One of these classes is the class of verbs which I am calling 'thought/perception verbs'. Eastern Tawbuid morphosyntax treats thought verbs and perception verbs identically.

    Thought verbs are verbs that refer to mental activity. These include verbs formed on stems such as *amataŋ* 'to remember', *ayup* 'to think', and *saful* 'to know'. Perception verbs are verbs that refer to an experiencer perceiving something outside of him or herself. These are verbs formed on stems such as *lag* 'to see', *duŋug* 'to hear' and *bantay* 'to see from a distance'.

    Thought/perception verbs take both agentive and non-agentive affixes. When one of these verbs takes agentive affixes, the subject of the sentence is the experiencer, and the object is the source:

(560) *g-amataŋ*   *=au*   *=gugat*   *kanya*   *fag* *ŋay* *eloŋan*
       IPFV;AGT-remember 1SG.NOM {duration} DEM.DIST LNK PL   word
       'I always remember those words.'

(561) *aro*   *nà-lag*   *=k*   *=wan*   *ay*   *tina*
       earlier.same.day PFV;AGT-see 1SG.NOM {already} 2PL.GEN mother
       'I saw your mother earlier.'

When a thought or perception verb takes non-agentive affixes, the subject is the source, and the experiencer is unexpressed. For example:

(562) *ka-lag*   *at*   *amak*
       IPFV;NAGT-see 3GEN loincloth
       'His/her loincloth is visible.'

7.8   Emotion/Sensation verbs

Another subset of psych verbs that are treated distinctly in Eastern Tawbuid are verbs that I call 'emotion/sensation verbs'. Emotion verbs are formed on stems such as *ilat* 'to be surprised', *balu* 'to be sad', and *fanyu* 'to feel affection'. (It should be noted that some adversative verbs refer to emotions as well, but to try to avoid confusion, I shall be using the term 'emotion verb' only to refer to verbs which do not take adversative affixes.)

Eastern Tawbuid groups emotion verbs together with what I call 'sensation verbs'. These are verbs formed on roots such as *sait* 'to feel pain', *apsug* 'to feel full (after eating)', and *atis* 'to feel cold'. Sensation verbs have a lot in common with perception verbs; both refer to interactions between an experiencer and the environment via the experiencer's senses.

There is a difference, however. Whereas perception verbs refer to the experiencer's becoming aware of objects and events in his or her environment, sensation verbs focus on the effect that the experiencer's interaction with the environment has on the experiencer's state of being. So, *lag* 'to see' is a perception verb, but *sulo* 'to be dazzled' is a sensation verb; *ayuk* 'to smell' is a perception verb, but *bayuk* 'to find a smell unpleasant' is a sensation verb.

Emotion/sensation verbs take non-agentive affixes. In a clause where the main verb is an emotion/sensation verb, the experiencer is the subject, as the nominative case of the pronoun in example (563) illustrates:

(563) *ka-sait*   *=ami*   *=ayu* *=daw*
       IPFV;NAGT-feel.pain 1PL.NOM.EXCL {sudden   }
       'We would suddenly feel pain.'

Aside from a subject, emotion/sensation verbs also allow a quasi-object NP to occur (section 8.2.2). This NP can be the source:

(564) *ka-limu*   *=ami*   *=dawdaw* *bagyu*
       IPFV;NAGT-be.afraid 1PL.NOM.EXCL {much}   storm
       'We were very afraid of the storm.'

It can also be a location:

(565) *ka-rios*   *=au*   *ku*   *darafa*
       IPFV;NAGT-be.cold 1SG.NOM 1SG.GEN foot
       'My feet are cold.'

7.9   Communication verbs

Verbs that refer to the act of verbal communication form another class in Eastern Tawbuid. These are verbs formed on stems such as *loŋ* 'to say', *into* 'to ask', and *balus* 'to answer'. These verbs take agentive and non-agentive marking. In clauses where the main verb is a communication verb with agentive marking, only the agent can act as the subject, but either the theme or the goal can be treated as the object.

In the following example, the object is the theme:

(566) *nan-loŋ*   *=k*   *=wan*   *ku*   *fag-ga-loŋ-un*
      INTENT-[AGT]-say 1SG.NOM {already} 1SG.GEN NMLZ-ANTIC:IPFV;AGT-say-ANTIC:NMLZ
      'I am going to say what I want to say.'

In the following example using the same verb, the object is the goal (*at sisian* 'his children'):

(567) *at*   *tama*   *=unu*   *nà-loŋ*   *at*   *sisian*   *te*
      DET father {hearsay} PFV;AGT-say 3GEN sibling.group QUOT

      aro   *nà-lag*   *=k*   *=wan*   *ay*   *tina*
      earlier.same.day PFV;AGT-see 1SG.NOM {already} 2PL.GEN mother
      'The father told his children, "I saw your mother earlier."'

There is no change in the affixation of the verb, nor indeed any other kind of morphosyntactic marking to show whether the object is a theme or a goal.

On communication verbs, using non-agentive marking indicates two things simultaneously: potentiality and the impersonal passive. Since the object of a communication verb that has not been passivised can be either a theme or a goal, the subject of a passivised communication verb can be either a theme or goal too:

(568) *fag-ayu*   *loŋ-an*   *ka-loŋ*   *=way*   *=ay*
      QUANT-be.many say-NMLZ IPFV;NAGT-say {bad   because}
      'It's because all words can be said.' (theme subject)

(569) *at*   *sisian* *ka-loŋ*   *=tua*
      3GEN child IPFV;NAGT-say {good}
      'Her children can be told [things].' (goal subject)

7.10   Stative verbs

Stative verbs are verbs which refer to states rather than actions or events. These are formed on stems such as *lugo* 'to be a long time', *labi* 'to be greater' and *sak* 'to be sufficient'. Semantically, stative verbs have a great deal in common with adjectives, but unlike adjectives (see section 4.3), they use verbal morphology: they are marked for aspect, and they take the same nominalising affixes as other verbs.

One surprising property of stative verbs is that they take agentive verb affixes. Generally, verbs that take agentive affixes have more agent-like subjects than verbs that do not. Typical agents are animate, instigate an action, and are in control of that action. The subjects of stative verbs, on the other hand, instigate no action, tend not to control the state they are in, and tend to be inanimate. Nevertheless, stative verbs in Eastern Tawbuid take agentive affixes.

In clauses where the main verb is stative, the syntax varies. The verb formed from the root *lugo* 'be a long time' may occur without a subject, as in example (570), or with an overt subject, as in example (571):

(570)   *g-useganan*   =*way* *ŋap* =*ami*   *nan-bul*   *Uan* *talanan*
         IPFV;AGT-rejoice {extreme} 1PL.NOM.EXCL INTENT-[AGT]-get *Uan* immediate.family

         ay   *bandi* *nu* *g-lugo*   =*wan*   *nu* *dua* =*wa*   *at*   *uŋa*
         and   future SUB IPFV;AGT-be.long.time {already} SUB two {already} 3GEN child

         at   *bale*   *sna*   =*wan*
         3GEN house DEM.VIS.OBL {already}
         'We very happily went and got Uan's family. And a long time after that, by the time that he had two children, his house was over there.'

(571)   *w*   =*ami*   *g-lugo*
         NEG 1PL.NOM.EXCL IPFV;AGT-be.long.time
         'We aren't [staying here] for long.'

Some stative verbs have meanings that are inherently comparative. These verbs can take a quasi-object NP (section 8.2.2) in addition to a subject. For example:

(572)   *buri*   *g-labi*   =*yay* *sik* *kayak*
         kind.of.lizard IPFV;AGT-be.greater {still} DET kind.of.lizard
         'A *buri* lizard is bigger than a *kayak* lizard.'

7.11 Adversative verbs

So far, the verb classes discussed in this section have been those that take agentive and/or non-agentive marking. However, Eastern Tawbuid has a third agentivity value that can be assigned to verbs: the 'adversative'. Verbs which can take adversative marking form a class of their own and refer to adverse events or experiences. These include verbs formed on stems such as *dailan* 'be ill', *fanawa* 'to worry' and *suayan* 'be in a hurry'. Some of these stems can also function as nouns (e.g. *dailan* 'illness'), but this is less common than in the case of production verbs. Stems for forming adversative verbs can also be derived from a variety of roots using the characteristic and resulting state suffixes (sections 4.2.1.3 and 4.2.2).

The subjects of adversative verbs are experiencers:

(573)   *ga-yuŋan*   =*ami*   =*dawdaw*
         IPFV;ADVERS-be.afraid 1PL.NOM.EXCL {big}
         'We were very afraid.'

Many adversative verbs allow a quasi-object NP (section 8.2.2). This NP can be a source (see line 9 of 'The Leaf-Cape' text for an example). It can also be a location:

(574)   *ga-famaga*   =*au*   *ku*   *darafa*
         IPFV;ADVERS-sore 1SG.NOM 1SG.GEN foot
         'I have a sore on my foot.'

In the case of adversative verbs derived using the resulting state suffix (section 4.2.1.3), the quasi-object NP is the agent of the action that the root refers to:

(575)   *at*   *uŋa*   *ga-baya-n*   *at*   *tina*
         DET child IPFV;ADVERS-scold-RES DET mother
         'The child suffers being scolded by the mother.'

Clauses of this type are discussed in more detail in section 8.3.3.

The dividing line between adversative verbs and emotion/sensation verbs is often arbitrary. One would surely think that roots such as *limu* 'to be afraid' and *sait* 'to feel pain' would take adversative affixes, but they do not. While verbs formed with adversative affixes are overwhelmingly verbs whose subjects are adversely-affected experiencers, not all verbs whose subjects fit this description pattern as adversative verbs. Many of them instead pattern as emotion/sensation verbs. At the same time, there are just a few verbs that pattern as adversative verbs, but whose subjects are not actually adversely affected in any way. For example:

(576) *ga-fanud* =*k* =*wa* =*fia* *kanya* *am* *loŋ-an*
IPFV;ADVERS-believe 1SG.NOM {fulfilment} DEM.DIST 2SG.GEN say-NMLZ
'I believe that thing you said.'

Aside from adversative marking, adversative verbs also take non-agentive marking. When this occurs, the verb takes on an inchoative sense.[51] For example:

(577) *ga-buni* =*au*
IPFV;ADVERS-ringworm 1SG.NOM
'I have ringworm.' (The ringworm is visible.)

(578) *ka-buni* =*au*
IPFV;NAGT-ringworm 1SG.NOM
'I am getting ringworm.' (There is an itchy spot, but no visible ringworm yet.)

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[51] There are also times when adversative verbs take non-agentive marking simply because they are in a verbal stance where adversative and non-agentive marking are not distinguished from each other. See section 4.4.1.1 for an explanation, and section 4.4.2.2 for an example in the imperative stance.

8
Grammatical Relations

This chapter is an introduction to grammatical relations in Eastern Tawbuid. This is a topic which is of particular interest since there are important differences between grammatical relations in Eastern Tawbuid and in better-known languages of the Philippines. The most notable difference is the concept of 'subject' in Eastern Tawbuid (section 8.1). While many of the properties of the subject in Eastern Tawbuid are unremarkable from the viewpoint of general linguistic typology, in the context of Philippine languages, the Eastern Tawbuid subject is exceptional.

After discussing the subject relation, I move on to examine the issue of an object relation in Eastern Tawbuid. While there are some noun phrases in Eastern Tawbuid that can be said to stand in an object relation to the verb (section 8.2.1), there are other non-subject noun phrases whose role within the clause is more problematic (section 8.2.2).

This chapter also contains a discussion of the valency alternations which I have observed in Eastern Tawbuid (section 8.3), including the impersonal passive and the causative. I also discuss double NP passives and adversative constructions, and whether these are a limited form of the kind of focus/voice alternations that are more widely observed in Philippine languages.

The chapter ends with a brief section that summarises my conclusions and lays out some further questions raised by the analysis presented in this chapter (section 8.4).

8.1   Subjects

8.1.1   Identifying subjects

Grammatical relations, particularly the subject relation, are a contentious issue in the analysis of many Western Austronesian languages (see Blust 2009 and Himmelmann 2005). Aside from the inherent challenge of adequately representing a relatively abstract part of a language's grammar, the would-be analyst is also confronted with a lack of widespread agreement on what grammatical relations are, and how widespread they are (Payne 2013). Without delving into this debate, I will be following the lead of many other writers on Austronesian languages by using a set of tests for subjecthood based on the set first proposed by Keenan (1976) in his influential paper on identifying subjects. Using these tests, it becomes apparent that, unlike the situation in many other Western Austronesian languages, especially Philippine languages, identifying subjects in Eastern Tawbuid is quite straightforward.

8.1.1.1   *Case marking*

One of the properties that can help identify subjects is case marking (Givón 2001). Unlike nouns, pronouns in Eastern Tawbuid are marked for case (see section 3.2.4). Of the three cases available to pronouns, one case, which I am calling the nominative case, is the case used for pronouns in verbless and verbal intransitive clauses. It is also the case used for one of the arguments in a transitive clause. The following examples briefly illustrate this in the 1st person singular:

(579) Verbless clause: ***au***   *=ŋaro*   *Uan*
                                1SG.NOM   {realisation}
                                'By the way, I am Uan.'

(580) Intransitive verbal clause: *ka-limu*   *=**au***
                                IPFV;NAGT-be.afraid   1SG.NOM
                                'I am afraid.'

(581) *ig-tiug* =*au*
IPFV;AGT-sleep 1SG.NOM
'I sleep.'

(582) Transitive verbal clause: *ig-ted* =*au* *fiso*
IPFV;AGT-hold 1SG.NOM knife
'I was holding the knife'

While by itself the presence of this shared case marking would be insufficient to prove that the NPs that take this kind of case marking are subjects, these NPs also share some less overt properties (as described in the following two sections) that suggest that analysing these NPs as subjects makes sense.

8.1.1.2 *Co-referential NP deletion*

One set of the tests for subjecthood outlined in Keenan (1976:316) that has been used widely is based on the idea that subjects "are the easiest NPs to stipulate the coreference of across clause boundaries." In other words, if a language allows deletion of NPs that refer to the same entity as an NP in another clause, then NPs which function as subjects in that language must be among the NPs that can be deleted.

One form of co-referential NP deletion that occurs in Eastern Tawbuid is equi-NP deletion (section 10.4), which only applies to NPs that are nominative pronouns and NPs that would take nominative case if they were replaced by a case-marked pronoun. For example, take the following basic clause:

(583) *naŋ-alo* =*au* *ayu*
INTENT:IPFV-[AGT]-accompany 1SG.NOM 2PL.ACC
'I'll accompany you.'

Compare this with the complement clause in the following complex clause:

(584) *ka-umsig* =*au* (*g-alo* *ayu*)
IPFV;NAGT-want 1SG.NOM IPFV;AGT-accompany 2PL.ACC
'I want to accompany you.'

In the complement clause, the nominative pronoun has been deleted because it is co-referential with the nominative pronoun in the matrix clause. This deletion does not occur if the co-referential pronoun in the complement clause is not nominative:[52]

(585) *go* *ka-umsig* =*am* (*nu* *g-alo* =*au* *ayu*)
Q IPFV;AGT-want 2PL.NOM SUB IPFV;AGT-accompany 1SG.NOM 2PL.ACC
'Do you$_i$ want me to accompany you$_i$?'

While case marking only applies to personal pronouns, there is evidence that equi-NP deletion also applies to full NPs and demonstrative pronouns, indicating that it is valid to speak of a subject relation when talking about any kind of NP in Eastern Tawbuid. For example:

(586) *kanya* =*unu* *g-alo* *ayu*
DEM.DIST {hearsay} IPFV;AGT-accompany 2PL.ACC
'That [person] accompanies you.'

---

[52] Here and in example (588), I use subscript letters to indicate the referents of pronouns and other NPs which are particularly relevant to the point being made. Nouns and pronouns followed by the same subscript letter have the same referent; a different subscript letter indicates a different referent.

(587) *tam   usena   ka-umsig   (g-alo   ayu)*
     1PL.GEN.INCL female.friend IPFV;NAGT-want IPFV;AGT-accompany 2PL.ACC
     'Our friend wants to accompany you.'

One could argue that the second sentence of the above pair does not necessarily contain equi-NP deletion. The complement clause in this complex clause could just contain a zero pronoun, which is the normal way of marking 3rd person nominative in Eastern Tawbuid (section 3.2.4). There are two things, however, that suggest that this is not the case: One, when equi-NP deletion does not occur, the complement clause has to be a full clausal nominalisation containing the subordinator *nu* (see sections 10.3 and 10.4). This is not the case in the complex clause above, suggesting that equi-NP deletion has occurred. Two, 3rd person nominative zero pronouns can regularly be replaced by a demonstrative pronoun such as *kanya* or *nin* (see section 3.2.3) with no change of referent. This is not the case in complement clauses like the one given above. If the subject of the complement clause is non-zero, then it must have a different referent to the subject of the matrix clause:

(588) *tam   usena   ka-umsig   {kanya   nu g-alo   ayu}*
     2PL.GEN.INCL female.friend IPFV;NAGT-want DEM.DIST SUB IPFV;AGT-accompany 2PL.ACC
     *'Our friend wants to accompany you.'
     but: 'Our friend$_i$ wants that [person]$_j$ to accompany you.'

Co-referential NP deletion also applies to serial verb constructions, where the subject is only expressed once despite the presence of two verbs. See section 10.2 for examples.

8.1.1.3   Relevance to nominalisation

One generalisation often made by theorists who take a sign-like view of grammatical relations is that they should be useful; that is, one should identify (or posit the existence of) a syntactic relation if doing so enables one to analyse aspects of the language's grammar that would be impossible otherwise, or if it streamlines an analysis that would otherwise be cumbersome (Payne 2013). One piece of corroborating evidence that the subject relation is a genuine syntactic relation in Eastern Tawbuid is the existence of a nominalisation strategy that has a one-to-one correspondence with this syntactic relation. As a glance at section 4.5.3 will show, Eastern Tawbuid has a plethora of nominalisation strategies which can apply to verbs and verb roots. For the most part, the nouns that are formed using these strategies are best described by means of a semantic or conceptual link with the action or event described by the verb, for example, the location of an event, the reason why an action was performed, the season in which an event tends to occur, etcetera. However, not all nominalisation strategies can easily be described in this way. The nouns formed using the nominalisation strategy described in section 4.5.3.1 stand in a variety of semantic relationships to the verbs that they are formed from: some are agents, some experiencers, others patients. What they do all have in common, however, is that in a clause where the verb from which these nouns are formed is not nominalised, the NP that has the same semantic role as that nominalised form passes the tests for subjecthood. For example, if a noun formed from a verb using this nominalisation strategy refers to an agent (e.g. *ta-g-alo* 'the one who accompanies'), then the agent NP in a clause containing the corresponding finite form of the verb passes the tests for subjecthood (see section 8.1.1.2 for examples of clauses containing *g-alo* 'accompany', which show that the agent NP is the subject).

While by itself the existence of this nominalisation strategy does not prove the existence of a subject relation in Eastern Tawbuid, taken together with nominative case marking and equi-NP deletion, it provides additional evidence that the subject relation is a real part of Eastern Tawbuid syntax. In positing this subject relation, such nominalisations can be concisely described with a level of precision that would not be possible if one relied on semantic properties alone.

8.1.2　Eastern Tawbuid and 'focus'

To a reader familiar with Western Austronesian languages and Philippine languages, the most striking feature of Eastern Tawbuid is the way it selects the grammatical subject of the sentence. In many Formosan and Western Malayo-Polynesian languages, the noun phrase which appears the most subject-like does not align with a specific semantic role, leading to debate in the literature regarding in what sense (if any) these languages can be said to have a 'subject'. Together with this phenomenon, verbs in these languages undergo a range of voice (or voice-like) alternations, with no one alternation being clearly dominant. Often, it is suggested that the selection of the subject (or the most subject-like argument) in these languages is largely driven by topicality or other discourse-pragmatic considerations, although virtually every claim that is made about this phenomenon is contested (see Blust 2009 for a brief introduction). In the literature on Philippine languages, and to a lesser extent in descriptions of other Western Austronesian languages, this phenomenon has often been called 'focus', a practice which I will follow here.[53]

Eastern Tawbuid does not have focus. In basic transitive sentences in Eastern Tawbuid, the selection of the grammatical subject is based primarily on semantic role. Agents and experiencers both pattern as subjects:

(589)　*ig-lipsik*　　　　*=au*　　*sik*　*almatuk*
　　　　IPFV;AGT-flick　1SG.NOM　DET　leech
　　　　'I flick a leech.'

(590)　*g-lag*　　　　*=k*　　　*=yay*　*ku*　　　*dalan*
　　　　IPFV;AGT-see　1SG.NOM　{still}　1SG.GEN　path
　　　　'I could still see my way.'

This principle that the selection of the subject is based primarily on semantic role is also illustrated by almost every Eastern Tawbuid clause cited in this book. Overwhelmingly, when an agent or an experiencer is present, it is the subject.[54]

While semantic role is important in determining the subject of an Eastern Tawbuid sentence, discourse topicality is relatively unimportant. Subjects can be indefinite:

(591)　*sik*　*taw*　　*g-fan-fa-uyan*　　　　　　*=dawdaw*　*t*　　　*ŋeŋe*
　　　　DET　person　IPFV-HABIT-[AGT]-CAUS-play　{much}　　3GEN　baby
　　　　'A person plays a lot with their baby.'
　　　　(The pre-verbal position of *sik taw* 'a person' indicates that it is the subject; see section 9.2.2.)

They can also be non-topical. Take, for example, the following short text, which a native speaker produced when asked to explain the term *yabuk* 'piece of smoldering wood used as mosquito repellent':

(592)　a.　*laman sik kayu ka-ruas*　　　*=wa*　　*=baŋan*
　　　　　　umm　DET　wood　IPFV;NAGT-rot　{already　mostly.true}
　　　　　　'Umm, a piece of wood is already rotting a bit.'

---

[53] As Blust (2009:432) notes, the term 'focus' in Philippinist usage "uniquely identifies languages that otherwise must be called by the longer and more cumbersome term 'Philippine-type languages'." The term 'Philippine-type language' is even more inconvenient than usual for the purposes of this grammar, as Eastern Tawbuid is a language geographically located in the Philippines that is classified by *Ethnologue* as part of the 'Greater Central Philippine' group and which in some respects does pattern with the better-known Philippine-type languages yet is not itself a 'Philippine-type language'. To minimise confusion, I use the term 'focus' for the controversial syntactic phenomenon.

[54] Double-NP passives and adversatives form borderline exceptions to this tendency, although upon closer examination, it becomes clear that there are significant differences between these two structures and the non-agent focuses of better-known Philippine languages (see sections 8.3.2 and 8.3.3 for further discussion).

b. *ay   kabayan ka   fag kayu ma-bilug   =yay   kabayan*
   and   even.so   DEM.DIST LNK wood ADJ-be.whole   {still}   even.so
   'Even so, that piece of wood is still whole.'

c. *ay   ig-sulsul   =ami   =gugat   kanya*
   and   IPFV;AGT-set.alight   1PL.NOM.EXCL {durative} DEM.DIST
   'And we keep on lighting it.'

d. *ay   ig-fa-ste*
   and   IPFV;AGT-CAUS-DEM.PROX.OBL
   'And [one] puts [it] here.'

e. *em   maguraŋ   g-fa-ste   =gugat*
   1PL.GEN.EXCL   parent   IPFV;AGT-CAUS-DEM.PROX.OBL   {durative}
   'Our parents always put [it] here.'

f. *ig-rabiŋ   ste*
   IPFV;AGT-hang   DEM.PROX.OBL
   '[They] hang [it] here.'

The topic of this short text is evidently the *kayu* 'wood' that is mentioned in lines (a) and (b) and referred to again in line (c) with the demonstrative pronoun. However, this does not mean that the referent of *kayu* is always or even usually the subject. In lines (a) and (b), it is the subject, but this is hardly surprising since these sentences are intransitive. When a transitive sentence occurs (lines (c) and (e)), the agent of the action is the subject, as evidenced by the nominative case of the pronoun in line (c), and the preverbal position of *em maguraŋ* in line (e). Many other such examples could be given; the 'Harvesting' text in the Appendix provides a few examples of non-topical subjects.

8.1.3   Are *fag- -un* and *fag- -an* verbal affixes?

One idea worth considering is whether some of the affixes that I have analysed as nominalising affixes are actually verbal affixes that indicate non-agent focuses. Two nominalising affixes in particular, the *fag- -un* and *fag- -an* circumfixes (sections 4.5.3.4 and 4.5.3.5), resemble patient- and location-focus/voice affixes found in other western Austronesian languages.[55]
At this point it is important to disentangle diachronic and synchronic language analysis. The relevant question for this grammar is not 'Are *fag- -un* and *fag- -an* reflexes of the same affixes that mark non-agent focuses/voices in many other languages?', but rather 'Do *fag- -un* and *fag- -an* mark non-agent focuses in Eastern Tawbuid?' The answer to this latter question is 'no'. These forms are nominalising affixes, and any other analysis would involve imposing distinctions on them that are alien to the grammar of Eastern Tawbuid.
Forms with *fag- -un* and *fag- -an* circumfixes frequently occur in syntactic environments that clearly show them to be functioning as nominalisations. Among other things, they function as head nouns in examples (593) and (594), as the modifying noun in a noun compound in example (595), as the head of a modifying NP in example (596), and as the subsumed NP in a prepositional phrase in example (597):

(593) *k=   ya nà-mataŋ   ku   fa-ga-danyu-un*
      1SG.NOM NEG PFV;AGT-remember 1SG.GEN   NMLZ-ANTIC;IPFV;AGT-sing-ANTIC;NMLZ
      'I have not yet remembered what song I want to sing.'

---

[55] Just a few examples: Tagalog has the patient-focus suffix *-in* and the location-focus suffix *-an*; Central Palawano [plc] has patient focus *-/ʌn/* and location-focus *-/an/*; Iloko has patient-voice *-en* and directional-voice *-an* (Rubino 2005:336); Kimaragang has objective voice *-on* and dative voice *-an* (Kroeger 2005:405–406).

(594) *nu   nk-apnu   =wa   em   ŋay   fa-g-suad-an*
      SUB   PFV;NAGT-be.full   {already}   1PL.GEN.EXCL   PL   NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-put.inside-NMLZ
      'When our containers were full…'

(595) *am   day   fa-g-luŋguŋ-an*
      2SG.GEN   area.near   NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-sit-NMLZ
      'the area near where you are sitting'

(596) *at   fa-g-lag-un   fag   diaga*
      DET   NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-see-NMLZ   LNK   young.woman
      'the young woman that he kept seeing'

(597) *sa   s   fa-g-yawa-an*
      ALL   OBL   NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-do.weeding-NMLZ
      'to the place where one does weeding'

However, many western Austronesian languages, especially languages with focus, allow the same form to function both as a verb and a noun (Himmelmann 2005).[56] Eastern Tawbuid itself has a set of nominalising affixes that are nearly identical to finite verb affixes (see section 4.5.3.1). The fact that many *fag- -un* and *fag- -an* affixed forms are nominalisations does not therefore constitute evidence that these affixes are only ever used as nominalising affixes.

Forms with *fag- -un* or *fag- -an* affixation do at times occur in contexts that at first glance appear to be consistent with a verbal analysis. Examples (598) and (599) come from the same natural text, and appear very similar, yet I have analysed example (598) as being a verbless clause, and example (599) as a verbal clause. Why not analyse example (598) as a verbal clause, and *fakesugun* as a patient-focus form?

(598) *sek   teway   ku   maguraŋ   fa-k-esug-un   kanya   =way   =ay*
      INTERJ   because   1SG.GEN   parent   NMLZ-IPFV;NAGT-love-NMLZ   DEM.DIST   {bad}   {reason}
      'No way, [I won't help], because they're the only one my parents love.'

(599) *uda   ay   maguraŋ   k-esug   =tua   fag-ayu   fag-ayu   ayu*
      INTERJ   2PL.GEN   parent   IPFV;NAGT-love   {good}   QUANT-be.many   QUANT-be.many   3ACC
      'Oy! Your parents love all of you.'

A convincing reason for rejecting a verbal analysis of *fakesugun* in example (598) is that it is inconsistent with the clitic placement. Example (598) contains the clitic =*way*, which is a slot 2 clitic.[57] While some clitics show variable placement within a clause, slot 2 clitics are tightly bound to predicates. The presence of a slot 2 clitic is therefore a reliable indicator that the last non-clitic word or phrase preceding it is the predicate, or at least the first part of the predicate.[58] If *fakesugun* in example (598) were a verb, then it would be the predicate of this clause, and the slot 2 clitic would have to attach to it. That is exactly what one sees happening in example (599): in this case, *kesug* is a verb, so the slot 2 clitic =*tua* follows it. But in example (598), the slot 2 clitic instead attaches to the demonstrative pronoun *kanya*. This makes good sense if one analyses example (598) as an equative clause, with *kanya* acting as a predicate NP (section 9.2.1):

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[56] Note that Himmelmann does not use the term 'focus'.
[57] That is, =*way* is a clitic that occurs in the second available position within the clitic series (see section 9.4.1.1).
[58] See section 9.4.1.2 for a description of clitic placement within a clause.

(598) *sek*   *teway*   *((ku*   *maguraŋ)* *fa-k-esug-un)*   *(kanya)*   *=way* *=ay*
        INTERJ because 1SG.GEN parent   NMLZ-IPFV;NAGT-love-NMLZ DEM.DIST {bad   reason}
                        Subject NP   Predicate NP
        'No way, [I won't help], because they're the only one my parents love.'

If one analyses example (598) as an equative clause, nothing about the syntax of the clause is difficult to account for. The subject NP, *ku maguraŋ fakesugun,* consists of a possessor NP, *ku maguraŋ*, and a possessed noun, *fakesugun.* This kind of possessed NP, in which a possessor NP precedes the possessed noun without any additional marking of the genitive, is well attested in Eastern Tawbuid (see section 5.2.2), as is treating the would-be subject NP of a nominalised verb as a possessor (see section 5.3.1).

This example illustrates a more general effect of analysing forms with *fag- -un* or *fag- -an* affixation as verbs. Such analyses would introduce a range of complications, quirks, and exceptions to one's description of Eastern Tawbuid morphosyntax, complications that simply don't arise if one accepts that *fag- -un* and *fag- -an* forms are always nominalisations.

Negator use and placement provide strong support for the analysis that *fag- -un* and *fag- -an* forms do not function as verbs. Clauses that contain a finite verb, such as example (600), can be negated with the basic clausal negator *dwa* (section 3.2.10.2)*,* as in example (601).

(600) *sisian*   *k-on*   *sinandu*
        children IPFV;AGT-eat elephant.ear.taro
        'Children eat elephant ear taro.'

(601) *sisian*   *dwa k-on*   *sinandu*
        children NEG IPFV;AGT-eat elephant.ear.taro
        'Children don't eat elephant ear taro.'

Clauses that contain a *fag- -un* or a *fag- -an* form are negated differently. Example (602) is superficially similar to example (600), but it cannot be negated in the same way, as example (603) shows:

(602) *sisian*   *fa-k-on-un*   *sinandu*
        children NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-eat-NMLZ elephant.ear.taro
        'What children eat is elephant ear taro.'

(603) **sisian*   *dwa fa-k-on-un*   *sinandu*
        children NEG NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-eat-NMLZ elephant.ear.taro

When presented with example (603), Informant **B** and another speaker corrected it to:

(604) *sisian*   *fa-k-on-un*   *bun wa sinandu*
        children NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-eat-NMLZ NEG NEG elephant.ear.taro.
        'What children eat is not elephant ear taro.'

The negation in example (603) differs from the negation in example (601) in two important ways. One is the presence of the serial negator *bun* (section 3.2.10.3). This negator is used almost exclusively in verbless clauses, which strongly suggests that the *fag- -un* form in example (604) is not a verb.[59] Note that this negator cannot be used to negate example (600):

(605) **sisian*   *bun wa k-on*   *sinandu*
        children NEG NEG IPFV;AGT-eat elephant.ear.taro

---

[59] *bun* can be used to negate a verb if the negation is contrastive. See example (168).

The other important difference between the negation in examples (601) and (604) is the position of the negators. In example (601), the negator precedes the verb, which is exactly what one expects of a clause-level negator (see sections 3.2.10.2–3.2.10.4 for examples). But in example (604), the negators come after the *fag- -un* form.

The simplest explanation of the negator placement in example (604) is that example (604) is a verbless clause, and by implication, so is example (602). The negators occur after *fakonun* because the predicate is not *fakonun,* but rather *sinandu*, which is a predicate NP. Clause level negators precede a predicate NP in the same way that they precede a verb:[60]

(604) *(sisian   fa-k-on-un)   bun   wa   (sinandu)*
     children   NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-eat-NMLZ   NEG   NEG   elephant.ear.taro.
        Subject NP   Predicate NP
     'What children eat is not elephant ear taro.'

Given the converging evidence from clitic placement and negation that *fag- -un* and *fag- -an* forms do not function as verbs, and the lack of any language-internal reason to analyse them as such, I analyse these forms exclusively as nominalisations.

8.2   Other NPs

While identifying subject NPs in Eastern Tawbuid is fairly straightforward, there are other NPs that occur in well-formed clauses that have proved more of a challenge to analyse. These NPs have widely varied semantic roles in the clauses where they occur, and they lack the kind of shared eligibility for syntactic processes that implies the existence of a common syntactic relation. Therefore, it does not make sense to analyse all these NPs as being clausal objects. A subset of these NPs, however, do meet the syntactic and semantic criteria to be considered clausal objects. These are the only NPs I refer to as 'objects'. Whether this is ultimately the best analysis, and how to best analyse the other non-subject NPs, are both questions that will have to be left to future research. For now, I am calling those other NPs 'quasi-object NPs'.

8.2.1   Object NPs

Object NPs in Eastern Tawbuid are non-subject NPs that occur in clauses where the main verb is an action-process verb, a thought/perception verb, or a communication verb (see sections 7.1, 7.7, and 7.9 for explanations of these verb classes). These NPs become subjects if the main verb is passivised. This is illustrated by the following pairs of sentences, first with an action-process verb, then with a thought/perception verb:

(606) a. *nà-buras   =w   =ami   em   fare*
          PFV;AGT-pour.out {already} 1PL.NOM.EXCL 1PL.GEN.EXCL rice
          'We have poured out our (unhusked or uncooked) rice.'

      b. *em   fare in-buras   =wan*
          1PL.GEN.EXCL   rice PFV;NAGT-pour.out   {already}
          'Our rice has been poured out.' or 'Our rice has spilt.'

(607) a. *ig-duŋug   =k   =way at   awaŋ*
          IPFV;AGT-hear 1SG.NOM {bad} DET   noise
          'I only hear the noise'

---

[60] More examples of clause-level negators preceding a predicate NP can be found in lines 33 and 36 of 'The Leaf-Cape' text. Example (167) also contains two instances of the negators *bun* and *wa* preceding a predicate NP.

b. *ka-duŋug   at   awaŋ*
   IPFV;NAGT-hear   DET   noise
   'The noise is audible.'

For an explanation of the Eastern Tawbuid passive see section 8.3.1.

Another property that object NPs share with one another is that they can be referred to using an object nominalisation (section 4.5.3.2) in the same way that the subject of a verb can be referred to using a subject nominalisation of that verb.

8.2.2   Quasi-object NPs

A quasi-object NP differs from a true object NP in that it cannot become the subject by means of passivisation.

As an example, take the action verb *lagyu* 'flee.' A quasi-object NP can occur in a clause where *lagyu* is the main verb, but even though *lagyu* can undergo the same morphological alternation that leads to passivisation in action-process and thought/perception verbs, this alternation does not result in passivisation. In fact, it has no syntactic effect at all; the agent is still present, and (if case marked) retains nominative case marking:

(608) a. *nà-lagyu   =w   =ami   siganun*
           PFV;AGT-flee   {already}   1PL.NOM.EXCL   lowlander
           'We fled from the lowlanders.'

     b. *in-lagyu   =yama =ami   siganun*
           PFV;NAGT-flee   {relief}   1PL.NOM.EXCL   lowlander
           'We were able to flee from the lowlanders.'

If the quasi-object NP *siganun* 'lowlander' were a true object in example (608a), one would expect it to become the subject of example (608b), as happened in the examples with the object NPs *em fare* 'our rice' and *at awaŋ* 'the noise' in examples (605) and (606).

Unlike both subjects and objects, quasi-objects do not correspond in any consistent way to a nominalisation strategy. Instead, various quasi-objects can be referred to using a range of the nominalisation affixes listed in section 4.5.3, depending on the semantic relationship between the quasi-object NP and the verb.

In summary, the identification of what I am calling quasi-object NPs is, at this stage of analysis, entirely negative. As far as I have been able to determine, all that they have in common is that they are noun phrases which do not pass the tests for subjecthood (section 8.1.1) or objecthood (section 8.2.1).

8.3   Valency alternations

'Valency' is a term for "the range of syntactic elements either required or specifically permitted by a verb or other lexical unit" (Matthews 2007:424). The valency of various classes of verbs was described in chapter 7. This section is concerned with morphosyntactic processes that are used to alter the valency of a verb.

8.3.1 Impersonal passives

In Eastern Tawbuid, impersonal passives can be formed by using non-agentive affixes on transitive verbs.[61] Compare the following pairs:

(609) a. *s<um>eud*   =*k*   =*yay*   =*ro*   *ku*   *yabas*
         <PROJ;AGT>cook   1SG.NOM {still   irrealis} 1SG.GEN   breakfast
         'I will cook my breakfast yet.'

      b. *in-seud*   =*wan*   *ku*   *yabas*
         PFV;NAGT-cook {already} 1SG.GEN   breakfast
         'My breakfast is cooked.'

(610) a. *ku*   *iba*   =*ro*   *mà-awat*   *ku*   *bale*
         1SG.GEN fellow.one {irrealis} AVERT-[AGT]-make 1SG.GEN   house
         'My companions might make my house.'

      b. *mà-nk-awat*   =*ro*   *ku*   *bale*
         AVERT-NAGT-make {irrealis} 1SG.GEN house
         'My house might get made.'

     Clauses such as example (609b) and (610b) do not contain a 3rd person zero subject. If they did, then clauses such as these should also be able to contain two overt noun phrases. However:

(609) c. **ku*   *yabas*   *in-seud*   *sik*   *taw*
         1SG.GEN   breakfast PFV;NAGT-cook DET person

(610) c. **ku*   *iba*   *mà-nk-awat*   *ku*   *bale*
         1SG.GEN fellow.one AVERT-NAGT-make 1SG.GEN   house

     Native speakers unequivocally reject any attempt of mine to insert an agent into such a clause. This occurs whether I try inserting an agent as a pronominal subject (example 609d), or as an accusative pronoun (example 609e), or as a prepositional phrase (example 609f).

(609) d. **ink-awat*   =*k*   =*wan*   *ku*   *ba-sabi*
         PFV;NAGT-make 1SG.NOM {already} 1SG.GEN   ACQ-basket

      e. **ku*   *ba-sabi*   *ink-awat*   =*wa*   *aŋku*
         1SG.GEN ACQ-basket PFV;NAGT-make {already} 1SG.ACC[62]

      f. **ink-awat*   =*wan*   *ku*   *ba-sabi*   *si*   =*ginan* *aŋku*
         PFV;NAGT-make {already} 1SG.GEN ACQ-basket LOC ABL   1SG.ACC

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[61] See section 4.4.1.1 for an introduction to the agentive/non-agentive distinction in Eastern Tawbuid verbal morphology. The relevant affixes are listed in detail in section 4.4.2.

[62] The word order in this ungrammatical example is different to the word order given in the other examples based on the original example '*inkawat wan ku basabi*'. In the original, and in the other ungrammatical forms which I have listed here that are similar, the patient (*ku basabi*) follows the verb, whereas in this one example, the patient precedes the verb. The reason for this is that if the patient follows the verb in this case, native speakers can interpret the accusative pronoun as marking contrastive possession (see section 5.2.4) rather than a separate argument, and they therefore deem the sentence as grammatical. However, if the patient precedes the verb and the accusative pronoun follows it, this interpretation is no longer possible, and the sentence becomes unambiguously ungrammatical.

In short, when a non-agentive affix is used on almost any root which can form a transitive verb, the result is a grammatically intransitive clause where an agent cannot even be expressed as an oblique. This is true even if the existence of an agent is clear from the semantic content of the verb.

There is, however, a small set of verbs which allow the agent to be expressed even when the verb is passivised. These result in what I am calling 'double NP passives'.

8.3.2   Double NP passives

The morphology that is used to produce the impersonal passive on almost all transitive verbs produces a slightly different construction on a small handful of action-process verbs. If non-agentive affixes are used on these verbs, the patient becomes the subject, as is the case in the impersonal passive, but the agent does not necessarily disappear. Rather, it optionally occurs as a quasi-object noun phrase:

(611) *in-taga*   = *au*   *barit*
     PFV;NAGT-cut 1SG.NOM kind.of.grass
     'I got cut by *barit* grass.'

In example (611), the verb affix is non-agentive, and the subject is the patient, but there is also an overt agent (*barit* 'kind of grass'). A few other such examples of clauses which native speakers produce (and accept as grammatical) could be given:

(612) *Uan in-git*   *at*   *fuan-an*
     Uan PFV;NAGT-crush 3GEN   fell.tree-NMLZ
     '*Uan* was crushed by the tree that he was chopping down.'

Why are clauses like these acceptable, whereas a clause like **ku yabas inseud sik taw* (example (609c)) is not? One thing which becomes clear when one examines examples of double NP Eastern Tawbuid clauses with patient subjects is that in these clauses, the 'agent' is never a typical agent. A typical agent is animate and in control of the action, whereas in these clauses, the 'agent' is always inanimate and is not actually in control of the event that is being described. Rather than being a typical agent, its semantic role is more like that of what Payne (1997:49) calls a 'force' – "an entity that instigates an action, but not consciously or voluntarily." If one attempts to form a similar clause where the non-subject argument is a typical agent, native speakers deem it ungrammatical. For example:

(613) **ku   ŋeŋe in-git*   *at*   *kaka*
     1SG.GEN baby PFV;NAGT-crush   DET   elder.sibling
     intended: 'My baby was squashed by the elder sibling.'

In such a case, where the most agent-like argument is a typical agent rather than a force, the only way that the agent can be overtly expressed is as the subject of the clause:

(614) *at   kaka*   *nà-git*   *ku*   *ŋeŋe*
     DET elder.sibling PFV;AGT-crush 1SG.GEN baby
     'The elder sibling squashed my baby.'

Readers who are familiar with Philippine languages will notice the similarity between these double-NP passive constructions in Eastern Tawbuid and the 'patient-focus' constructions that have been described in other languages spoken in the Philippines. In patient-focus (or patient voice) constructions, there are two core NPs. The NP representing the patient is very subject-like (or is the subject, according to some analysts, e.g. Himmelmann 2005 and Kroeger 1991 for Tagalog), while the marking of the NP representing the agent looks like the marking of the patient NP in agent-focus constructions.

However, despite the clear similarities, I do not think that it makes sense to say that the Eastern Tawbuid double NP passives are the same thing as patient-focus constructions, and for this reason I am not referring to them as such. There are several important differences between these Eastern Tawbuid

constructions and patient-focus constructions that lead to this conclusion. One difference is the restriction to situations where the 'agent' is an inanimate force (see paragraph following example (612)). No such restriction on the use of patient-focus occurs in the languages with focus that I am familiar with, and I have not come across any such restriction in the literature on these languages.[63]

An even more striking difference is in the number of verbs which can participate in an Eastern Tawbuid double NP passive. Only a small handful of verbs can form the main verb in such a construction. In fact, at this point I have only been able to identify three: *taga* 'cut', *git* 'crush', and *suŋad* 'to make a hole [in someone's skin]'. This contrasts sharply with patient-focus in Philippine-type languages, which can be used on a wide range of verbs.[64]

8.3.3   Double NP adversatives

As was discussed in section 4.2.1.3, the resulting state suffix can be used in Eastern Tawbuid to derive stems for forming adversative verbs. Clauses containing adversative verbs formed in this way can contain two NPs: a subject NP and a quasi-object NP. In the following examples, the subject NP is the one that precedes the verb (see section 9.2.2):

(615)   *Uan   ga-agat-an   ubianun*
      Uan   IPFV;ADVERS-bite-RES   snake
      '*Uan* is [so unfortunate as to get] bitten by a snake.'

(616)   *uŋa   ga-baya-n   tina*
      child   IPFV;ADVERS-tell.off-RES   mother
      'The child is [so unfortunate as to get] told off by the mother.'

Double NP adversatives in Eastern Tawbuid resemble patient-focus constructions in that they allow a patient-like argument to function as the subject, without seeming to require the agent to be treated as an oblique. Superficially, alternations such as the following look like focus alternations:

(617)   *ubianun   nà-agat   Uan*
      snake   PFV;AGT-bite   *Uan*
      'The snake bit *Uan*.'

(618)   *Uan   na-agat-an   ubianun*
      Uan   PFV;ADVERS-bite-RES   snake
      '*Uan* was [so unfortunate as to get] bitten by a snake.'

However, to analyse this as focus would be to ignore the important semantic differences between adversative and non-adversative forms in Eastern Tawbuid. The adversative form above refers to an experience, and communicates the idea of misfortune on the part of the experiencer subject. The non-adversative form refers straightforwardly to an action.

To analyse the formation of both adversative and non-adversative forms on a single root as focus would also ignore the basic issue of text frequency. In frequency counts that have been done in languages with focus, the split between clauses with agent focus and clauses with focuses other than

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[63] I speak Tagalog and Central Palawano [plc] and have some knowledge of Cebuano. Virtually any of the literature that deals with the syntax of languages with focus contains examples of clauses with patient-focus and a true, animate agent. Within Adelaar and Himmelmann (2005), examples can be found within Rubino's article on Iloko, Himmelmann's article on Tagalog, and Kroeger's article on Kimaragang, to name just a few. (Rubino and Himmelmann use the term 'patient voice', whereas Kroeger's preferred term is 'objective voice'.)

[64] See, for example, de Guzman's (1978) book on Tagalog verbs or Wolff's (1966) introduction to Cebuano grammar. Both of these books provide ample examples of a wide range of verbs being used with patient-focus (and other non-agent focuses).

agent is close to even (see Bell 1988 for Cebuano and Keenan and Manorohanta 2001 for Malagasy).[65] While I cannot give a similar break-down of the frequency of double NP adversatives relative to other clause types, it is clear from the frequency of adversatives derived with a resulting state suffix that this clause type occurs rarely in Eastern Tawbuid. In approximately three hours of natural text recordings, these adversatives occur a total of twenty times, making up about 1 percent of non-nominalised verbs in these recordings. This low rate of occurrence fits with an analysis of the double NP adversative as a minor construction with a specialised semantic function.

8.3.4   Causatives

Causatives are the only valence-increasing construction that I have identified in Eastern Tawbuid. Intransitive verbs can be made syntactically transitive with a causative affix (section 4.2.3). The causee, which corresponds to the subject of the intransitive verb, is treated as the object, while the causer becomes the subject:

(619)   Intransitive: *sik*   *taw*   *ka-sure*
                         DET   person   IPFV;NAGT-appear
                         'A person appears.'

(620)   With causative: *ig-fa-sure*   =*au*   *ku*   *na-suksuk*
                         IPFV;AGT-CAUS-appear   1SG.NOM   1SG.GEN   NMLZ-hide
                         'I show what I had hidden.'

   Transitive verbs can also take the causative. When this occurs, the object of the transitive verb remains the object of the causative construction, while the original subject is usually omitted:

(621)   Transitive: *ik-awat*   =*au*   *ku*   *sabi*
                         IPFV;AGT-make   1SG.NOM   1SG.GEN   basket
                         'I make my basket.'

(622)   With causative: *ig-fa-awat*   =*au*   *ku*   *bale*
                         IPFV;AGT-CAUS-make   1SG.NOM   1SG.GEN   house
                         'I get [someone] to make my house.'

   However, the original subject is sometimes expressed using a prepositional phrase:

(623)   Transitive: *ig-fegus*   =*ami*   *em*   *ba-amunti*
                         IPFV;AGT-wash   1PL.NOM.EXCL   1PL.GEN.EXCL   ACQ-sweet.potato
                         'We wash our sweet potato that we have carried.'

(624)   With causative: *ig-fa-fegus*   =*au*   *ku*   *bisu*   *sa*   *sik*   *sisian*
                         IPFV;AGT-CAUS-wash   1SG.NOM   1SG.GEN   pot   ALL   DET   child
                         'I get a child to wash my pot.'

   There are some causative constructions in Eastern Tawbuid which, at first glance, do not appear to fit with the analysis given above. For example, when the causative *f-apnu* (from the root *apnu* 'be full') is used, the causer is consistently the subject, but there is some variability in what the object can be. In example (625), the object is the container which is filled, while in example (626), the object is the content with which the container is filled, and the container is expressed as an oblique.

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[65] Note that Bell (1988) uses the term 'topic' while Keenan and Manorohanta (2001) use the term 'voice'.

(625) *at   iba   g-f-apnu   =mandi   at   sabi*
    3GEN fellow.one IPFV;AGT-CAUS-be.full {particular} 3GEN basket
    'The others fill their own baskets.'

(626) *ig-f-apnu   =ami   sinturis   si   em   basad buyug*
    IPFV;AGT-CAUS-be.full 1PL.NOM.EXCL kind.of.citrus LOC 1PL.GEN.EXCL inside kind.of.basket
    'We fill our *buyug* baskets with *sinturis* fruit.'

The variability of the object in causative constructions using *fapnu* seems to constitute a counter-example to the pattern mentioned above, where I said that the object in causative constructions formed on an intransitive verb is the original subject of the intransitive verb. However, a closer examination of how the root *apnu* is used in non-causative constructions shows that this is not actually the case. The subject in intransitive constructions using the root *apnu* varies in the same way as the object in the causative constructions shown above. Often, the subject in intransitive clauses using *apnu* is the container, as in:

(627) *ink-apnu   sik   baliswa*
    PFV;NAGT-be.full DET kind.of.basket
    'A *baliswa* basket filled up.'

However, in an intransitive clause where the verb is formed on the root *apnu*, the subject can also be the 'content':

(628) *at   uyaŋ k-apnu   =wa*
    DET fish   IPFV;NAGT-be.full {already}

    sanya   sa ŋaba safa =aba =sirut
    DEM.DIST.OBL ALL length river {long little}
    'The fish fill that narrow stretch of the river.'

8.4   Conclusions

In this chapter, I have laid out a preliminary account of grammatical relations in Eastern Tawbuid. The overall picture that emerges is of a language in which subjecthood does exist and is primarily determined by semantic role. There are few valence alternations, and those that do exist are unlike the focus alternations that are ubiquitous in many Western Austronesian languages.

This is a surprising finding, given that Philippine languages, and particularly Central Philippine languages, have long been the textbook examples of languages with focus. If Eastern Tawbuid really is a Central Philippine language (a claim which has never been investigated in detail), then why do its grammatical relations differ so strikingly from grammatical relations in every other documented Central Philippine language?

A related question has to do with the other, under-documented languages of Mindoro. Do these other languages have a more typically Philippine morphosyntax, or are they like Eastern Tawbuid, or might they be different again? In-depth study of the grammar of these languages would be an interesting area for further research.

9
Basic Clauses

This chapter outlines the basic clause types in Eastern Tawbuid and the word orders which occur in them.

As is common among Western Austronesian languages (Himmelmann 2005), Eastern Tawbuid allows the formation of verbless clauses (section 9.1), and has a special kind of clause which is used to assert the existence of an entity (section 9.3). However, unlike better-known languages of the Philippines, transitive clauses in Eastern Tawbuid are not verb-initial. The basic word order in these clauses is instead SVO (section 9.2.2).

After introducing the basic clause types and the order of their essential components, more information is given on word order within predicates, as well as the placement of the ubiquitous semantic and pronominal clitics (sections 9.4.1–9.4.2). The position of adverbs and prepositional phrases within the clause is also sketched (sections 9.4.3–9.4.4). The chapter wraps up with a brief section on non-declarative clauses (section 9.5).

9.1   Verbless clauses

Like many western Austronesian languages (Himmelmann 2005), Eastern Tawbuid has no overt copula and allows the formation of verbless clauses. These verbless clauses consist of a noun phrase subject and a predicate, which can either be a single word or another phrase. Verbless clauses can be formed with an adjective as the predicate:

(628) *ma-tiŋid   at   bale*
      ADJ-be.sturdy   DET   house
      'The house was sturdy.'

Both direct and oblique demonstratives can function as predicates:

(629) *kanya   =unu   at   ma-suad*
      DEM.DIST   {hearsay}   3GEN   ADJ-put.inside
      'Its content (i.e. 'meaning') is that.'

(630) *sanya   sik   dafaŋ*
      DEM.DIST.OBL   DET   insect
      'An insect is there.'

Numbers can also be predicates:

(631) *at   uŋa   sadi*
      3GEN   child   one
      'Their child was one.' (i.e. 'They had one child.')

Aside from these, both noun phrases and prepositional phrases can function as predicates:

(632) *ku   awat-an   ku   sabi*
      1SG.GEN   make-NMLZ   1SG.GEN   basket
      'What I made was my basket.'

(633) *sa   ŋaba   muyud   ay   dalan*
      ALL   length   ridge   2PL.GEN   path
      'Your path will be along the top of the ridge.'

Because of the prevalence of zero anaphora for 3rd person referents, there is often no overt subject even in verbless clauses. In context, therefore, any word class or phrase that can function as a predicate can be interpreted as a clause. The following are just a few examples of this:

(634) *ma-garas*   *=wa*   *=dawdaw*
ADJ-be.strong {already very}
'[It] was very strong.'

(635) *ŋ-abat*   *fag* *bale*
ADJ-be.tall LNK house
'[It] is a tall house.'

(636) *si* *s* *wa* *amunti*   *=unu*
LOC OBL midst sweet.potato {hearsay}
'[They] were amongst the sweet potato.'

Word order in the Eastern Tawbuid verbless clause is far from fixed. In natural speech, both predicate-first and subject-first orderings occur frequently.

9.2 Verbal clauses

9.2.1 Intransitive clauses

In intransitive verbal clauses, both SV and VS orderings occur, in much the same way that both subject-first and predicate-first orderings occur in verbless clauses. For example, the following two sentences were produced in the same text by the same speaker:

(637) *em*   *amataŋ-an-an*   *ka-ayu*   *=wan*
1PL.GEN.EXCL remember-VOLITION-NMLZ IPFV;NAGT-be.many {already}
'Our thoughts were becoming many.'

(638) *ka-limu*   *=wa* *=dawdaw* *em*   *amataŋ-an-an*
IPFV;NAGT-be.afraid {already very}   1PL.GEN.EXCL remember-VOLITION-NMLZ
'Our thoughts were very afraid.'

This variation in word order in intransitive clauses is not fully understood.

9.2.2 Transitive clauses

In transitive clauses in Eastern Tawbuid where both the subject and the object are a full noun phrase, SVO word order predominates, e.g.

(639) *but* *nà-on*   *balukas*
rat PFV;AGT-eat shirt
'The rat ate the shirt'

(640) *sik* *taw* *g-uba*   *sik* *saba*
DET person IPFV;AGT-carry DET cooking.banana
'A person is carrying a cooking banana.'

(641) *at   talanan   nà-bul   =wan   at   ŋay manuk*
      DET immediate.family PFV;AGT-take {already} 3GEN PL   chicken
      'The family had already taken their chickens.'

Although some variation in word order has been observed in natural speech, when native speakers are presented with a transitive clause that is out of context, they interpret that clause as SVO even if this results in a semantically unusual or impossible statement:

(642) *Uan nà-agat   ubianun*
      Uan PFV;AGT-bite snake
      '*Uan* bit the snake.'

(643) ! *balukas nà-on   but*
      shirt   IPFV;AGT-eat rat
      ! 'The shirt ate the rat'

When the subject is pronominal, the word order is different. Nominative pronouns in verbal clauses are clitics, so these follow the rules for the placement of the clitic series (see section 9.4.1).

When the object is pronominal, it takes accusative case. Accusative pronouns which do not function as possessors (see section 5.2.4) and/or the object of a preposition (see section 6.2) follow after the verb (and any clitics that are attached to it):

(644) *Rusa nà-taban   =w   emi   sa   s   Bulusan*
      Rusa PFV;AGT-bring {already} 1PL.ACC.EXCL ALL OBL *Bulusan*
      '*Rusa* brought us to *Bulusan*.'

9.3   Existential clauses

9.3.1   Basic existential clauses

Clauses that are formed with the existential predicate (section 3.2.2) function differently to verbless and verbal clauses. In an existential clause, the existential predicate must be followed by an 'exister', that is, a noun phrase that refers to the entity whose existence is being asserted. This is the only obligatory noun phrase in such a clause:

(645) *e   siganun*
      EXIST lowlander
      'There was a lowlander.'

(646) *e   sik   manuk talnayan*
      EXIST DET bird   mother+children
      'There is a mother bird and her chicks.'

The existential predicate is attached very tightly to the exister noun phrase. With other types of predicates, clausal clitics intervene between the predicate and the following noun phrase (see section 9.4.1.2). With existential clauses, on the other hand, clausal clitics do not intervene between the existential predicate and the exister:

(647) *e   k-anus   =wa   =fia*
      EXIST IPFV;AGT-smoke {fulfilment}
      'There really is one that is making smoke.'

The tight attachment between the existential predicate and the exister is also apparent in the morphology. Circumfixes treat the existential predicate and the exister as one word:

(648) *ay   fag-e   fakonun-un*
2PL.GEN NMLZ-EXIST   food-NMLZ
'the means by which you come to have food'

(649) *fag-e   yay-un*
NMLZ-EXIST   *yay*-NMLZ
'the reason why there is a *'yay'*'

In examples (648) and (649), the existential clauses *e fakonun* 'there is food' and *e yay* 'there is a *'yay''* have been nominalised with the *fag- -un* circumfix as if they were each a single word. (Compare these examples with the examples of this nominalising circumfix in section 4.5.3.4.)

9.3.2   Possessor NP + existential clause

Basic existential clauses of the form described above can be combined with another noun phrase to form clauses referring to possession. In these clauses, the exister noun phrase refers to the entity that is possessed, while the additional noun phrase refers to the possessor. The possessor noun phrase can precede or follow the basic existential clause:

(650) *ku   sabi   w   e   masuad*
1SG.GEN basket NEG EXIST content
'My basket had nothing in it.'

(651) *wa   =ro   e   ba-yafun   ay   tina*
NEG {inferential} EXIST ACQ-dinner 2PL.GEN   mother
'Your mother won't have any dinner.'

When the possessor noun phrase is expressed as a pronoun, the nominative case is used:

(652) *e   dailan =way =o   =naŋus*
EXIST illness {bad} 2SG.NOM {resemble}
'It is as if you have an illness.'

Since there is no overt 3rd person nominative pronoun, context is often necessary to determine whether a clause is asserting existence or 3rd person possession.

9.3.3   Nominalised verb existers

Almost all nominalisations of verbs or verb stems have the same form in exister noun phrases as they do normally (see section 4.5.3 for a listing of these nominalisations):

(653) *wa   =ro   =ta   e   na-on*
NEG {inferential} 1DU.NOM.EXCL EXIST NMLZ-eat
'We wouldn't have anything to eat.' (object nominalisation; see section 4.5.3.2)

(654) *e   fa-g-dalan-un*
EXIST NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-go.by.way.of-NMLZ
'There was something to go by way of.' (*fag- -un* nominalisation; see section 4.5.3.4)

(655) w   =am   e   fa-g-fan-yafun-an
        NEG   2PL.NOM EXIST   NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-ACQ-dinner-NMLZ
        'You won't have a place to get dinner from.' (*fag- -an* nominalisation; see section [4.5.3.5](#))

Subject nominalisations (section [4.5.3.1](#)), however, do not take any morphological marking of nominalisation whatsoever when they occur in exister noun phrases. All forms become the same as the forms for verbs that have not been nominalised:

(656) e   g-seud   =tua
        EXIST   IPFV;AGT-cook   {good}
        'There is someone who cooks.'

(657) e   ka-dasug
        EXIST   IPFV;NAGT-arrive
        'There is someone arriving.'

Among western Austronesian languages, it is common for nominalised verbs to have the same form as finite verbs (Himmelmann 2005). In Eastern Tawbuid, the subject nominalisations come close to this, but it is only in existential clauses that the affixes for subject nominalisations become completely identical to the affixes for finite verbs.

9.4   Other parts of clauses

9.4.1   Clitics

Eastern Tawbuid clitics consist of pronominal and semantic clitics. The pronominal clitics are the nominative pronouns listed in section [3.2.4](#); the semantic clitics were introduced in section [3.2.14](#). This section deals with the order of these clitics relative to one another, as well as the position of clitics within the clause. There are also some changes in the position and distribution of clitics if a clause is negated, so these will also be briefly described.

9.4.1.1   Order within the clitic series

Eastern Tawbuid has a preferred order for clitics that co-occur within a single clause, but this order is not entirely fixed. The following list shows the order of those clitics relative to one another. Many clitics are not included, either because they rarely co-occur with other clitics, or because their placement is variable. One major organising principle is phonological weight; shorter clitics tend to cluster towards the beginning of the series, while longer clitics tend to come towards the end.

1. =*a(k)* 1SG.NOM
2. =*tua* 'good'
    =*wa(n)* 'already, now'
    =*way* 'bad'
    =*ya* 'another'
    =*yaŋay* 'repeat'
    =*yap* 'a bit' (or comparative: see section [4.3.5](#))
    =*yay* 'still'
3. =*loŋ* 'emphatic'
    =*ŋap* 'frustration'
4. =*ban* 'distant future'
    =*ro* 'irrealis'
5. All nominative pronoun clitics except for =*a(k)*

6. =*unu* 'hearsay'
7. =*ay* 'reason'
8. =*ŋani* 'redundant'
   =*ŋaro* 'new to speaker'
9. =*ayu(ayu)* 'many'
   =*aba(aba)* 'long'
   =*daw(daw)* 'much'
   =*fia(fia)* 'strictly true'
   =*gugat(gugat)* 'long time'
   =*sirut(sirut)* 'little'
10. =*baŋan* 'mostly true'

9.4.1.2 Placement of clitics within the clause

The rules determining the placement of clitics within the clause are complex, and there appears to be some flexibility. The following give an outline of the major patterns that have been observed.

In a clause where the predicate comes before any noun phrases, clitics tend to follow the first word in the predicate. So, for example, if the predicate consists only of the adjective *ŋayu* 'many', then the clitics come after that:

(658) *ŋayu*　　　　=*tua*　=*unu*　　*at*　　*ba-amunti*
　　　ADJ-be.many　{good　hearsay}　3GEN　ACQ-sweet.potato
　　　'The sweet potato that she had gathered was a lot.'

But if the predicate is longer, any clitics still come after the first word, rather than after the entire predicate; for example, if the predicate consists of the two words *wa mdaga* 'won't come down':

(659) *wa*　=*loŋ*　　　=*ro*　　　=*ay*　　*m-daga*　　　　　*tam*　　　*fuyu*
　　　NEG　{emphatic　inferential　reason}　PROJ;NAGT-go.down　1PL.GEN.INCL　youngest.sibling
　　　'Because our youngest sibling surely won't come down.'

One should be careful not to attach semantic significance to the attachment of clitics to the first word of the predicate. For example, in the following clause, the clitics have attached to the discourse particle *an*, but this does not mean that the semantic content of these clitics is especially related to discourse considerations. In attaching to *an*, the clitics are doing what they tend to do: follow the first word in the predicate:

(660) *an*　　=*way*　=*unu*　　=*gugatgugat*　*g-ayayag*
　　　DISCP　{bad　hearsay　durative}　　IPFV;AGT-stroll
　　　'She's always just strolling around.'

Clitic placement rules are different in clauses with existential predicates and predicate noun phrases. In existential predicates, the clitics follow the exister noun, treating the existential predicate and the exister noun as a single unit (see section 9.3.1). The situation with predicate noun phrases is more complex. If the head noun is preceded by a modifier that requires a linker (section 3.2.5), then the clitics come immediately after that modifier, as in examples (661) and (662). Otherwise, they come after the head noun, as in example (663):

(661) *sadi*　=*ya*　*k*　　*danyu*
　　　one　{still}　LNK　song
　　　'One more song.'

(662) *ŋayu*   *=wa*   *fag* *karni* *aŋku*
       ADJ-be.many {already} LNK meat 1SG.ACC
       'Mine's already a lot of meat.'

(663) *sik* *ina*   *=wa =fia*   *at*   *ŋeŋe*
       DET female {fulfilment} DET baby
       'The baby did turn out to be a girl.'

If the predicate noun phrase is a possessed noun phrase (section 5.2), then the position of the clitics depends whether the possessor is a full noun phrase or just a genitive pronoun. If it is just a genitive pronoun, then the clitics follow the head noun, as in example (664). If the possessor in a predicate noun phrase is a full noun phrase, then the clitics typically follow the head noun of the possessor noun phrase, as in example (665):

(664) *am*   *ŋeŋe* *=way* *at* *nà-bap*
       2SG.GEN baby {bad} DET PFV;AGT-defecate
       'The one that defecated was your baby!'

(665) *am*   *ŋeŋe* *=way* *fa-g-inum-an*
       2SG.GEN baby {bad} NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-drink-NMLZ
       'It's just your baby's cup.'

As was mentioned in section 9.1, the predicate can also consist of a prepositional phrase. When this occurs, the clitics generally follow the first word of the prepositional phrase:

(666) *si*   *=k*   *=way* *=daw* *s*   *tuŋud*   *tana*
       LOC 1SG.NOM {only much} OBL space.above cut
       'I was just above the cut.'

(667) *kata* *=wa*   *=unu*   *unwaŋ*
       like {already hearsay} water.buffalo
       '[They] were like water buffalo.'

However, there are also times when they follow the head noun of the subsumed noun phrase:

(668) *sa* *s*   *saguban*   *=ta*
       ALL OBL water.source 1DU.NOM.INCL
       'Let's go to the place for getting water from.'

There are also a couple of examples of this in section 6.5.2.

The placement of clitics within the clause becomes more complicated if the subject noun phrase precedes the predicate. When this is the case, a few clitics are positioned relative to the subject noun phrase rather than being positioned relative to the predicate. Note the positions of the clitics *=ŋaro* and *=ro* in the following two clauses. Instead of coming after the first word of the predicate, they come after the head noun of the subject noun phrase:

(669) *tam*   *Dius* *=ŋaro*   *ig-tarabaŋ*   *=wa =fia*
       1PL.NOM.INCL God {realisation} IPFV;AGT-help {fulfilment}
       '(It turns out that) our God does actually help.'

(670) *am*   *iba*   *=ro*   *ka-nbaŋ*   *=w*   *emu*
       2SG.GEN fellow.one {inferential} IPFV;NAGT-be.sick.of.waiting {already} 2SG.ACC
       '(I reckon that) your companions will be sick of waiting for you.'

Clitics that are positioned relative to the subject noun phrase follow the same rules which were outlined above for the position of clitics relative to a predicate noun phrase.

In a clause with a pre-predicate subject noun phrase, the clitic order outlined in section 9.4.1.1 partially predicts which clitics can be positioned relative to the subject, and which must be positioned relative to the predicate. Clitics that occur in slot 2 must always be positioned relative to the predicate, while many of the clitics that occur in later slots can be positioned relative to the subject. Examples (669) and (670) illustrate this. In both examples, =*wa* (slot 2) is positioned relative to the predicate; the clitic that occurs later in the clitic series, either =*ŋaro* (slot 8) or =*ro* (slot 4), is positioned relative to the subject.

9.4.1.3   Clitics in negated clauses

In Eastern Tawbuid, a clausal negator is part of the predicate. In terms of word order, it comes before any other part of the predicate (section 9.4.2). If a clausal negator is present, the clitics tend to come immediately after this. The exception to this is the 1st person nominative pronoun clitic. In clauses that are not negated, this clitic takes the form of =*au* or =*(a)k*. However, in a clause that is negated with a basic clausal negator (section 3.2.10.2), it precedes the negator, and takes the form *(da)k*=:

(671) *dak*=   *di*   *ga-buru*
        1SG.NOM   NEG   IPFV;ADVERS-snot
        'I don't have a cold.'

(672) *k*=   *wa*   =*ro*   *màfafa-alo*   *emu*
        1SG.NOM   NEG   {inferential}   POT;IPFV;AGT-go.with   2SG.ACC
        'I can't go with you.'

As the second example illustrates, other clitics continue to follow the negator even when *(da)k*= is present.

Whereas clausal negation affects the form and position of one clitic, it affects the distribution of many more. None of the clitics that occur in slot 2 in the clitic order outlined in section 9.4.1.1 can occur in negated clauses.

9.4.2   Predicates

The following section is an overview of syntax in Eastern Tawbuid predicates. Word order within the predicate is illustrated by the following diagram, which should be read from left to right, with components on the left coming before components on the right. Arrows between boxes indicate that the components listed in these boxes can co-occur in predicates. White boxes indicate predicate components that are sufficient by themselves to form a predicate, whereas grey boxes indicate additional predicate components.
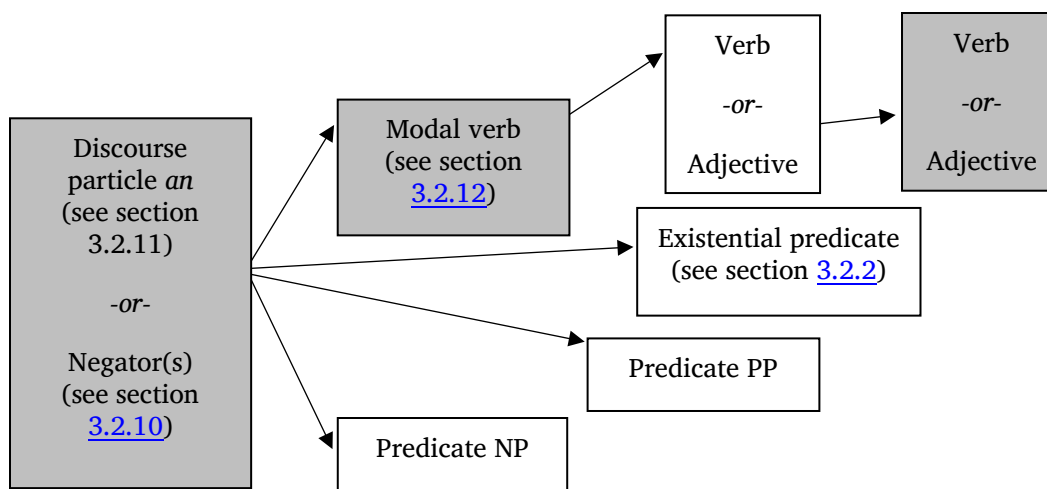
Figure 9.1. Word order within the predicate.

Of interest here is the ways that verbs and adjectives can be combined or reduplicated in predicates. Adjectives can be used adverbially, simply by juxtaposing the adjective to the verb. (Clitics often intervene between the verb and the adjective, but given the rules laid out in section 9.4.1.2, this is hardly surprising.)

The verb and the adverbial adjective can occur in either order:

(673) *wa   =mi   =fiafia   ig-tiug   ma-tukba*
      NEG 1PL.NOM.EXCL {strictly.true} IPFV;AGT-sleep ADJ-be.thick
      'We weren't really sleeping deeply.' (lit. 'sleeping thickly')

(674) *bagu n-sakbo   ku   amataŋ-an-an*
      new   PFV;NAGT-enter 1SG.GEN   remember-VOLITION-NMLZ
      'I've only just started paying attention.' (lit. 'My mind has newly entered.')

Verbs and predicate adjectives can be reduplicated:

(675) *ŋ-abat   ŋ-abat*
      ADJ-be.tall   ADJ-be.tall
      '[It] was very high.' (of a cliff)

(676) *ka-tagubuŋ   =wa   ka-tagubuŋ*
      IPFV;NAGT-be.deep   {already}   IPFV;NAGT-be.deep
      '[It] was getting deeper and deeper.'

9.4.3   Adverbs

Adverbs (section 3.2.1) most commonly occur at the beginning of the clause, but they can also occur elsewhere. The following examples illustrate this, using the epistemic adverb *roro* 'actually':

(677) *roro   =unu   kanya   fag ama bap*
      actually {hearsay}   DEM.DIST LNK man feces
      'Actually, [it] was that man's feces.'

(678) *nà-kilala*   *=tu*   *emi*   *roro*   *kanya*   *fag*   *ful-an*   *sundalu*
PFV;AGT-recognise {good} 1PL.ACC.EXCL actually DEM.DIST LNK be.gathered-NMLZ soldier
'That soldier group actually recognised us.'

(679) *e*   *nagsawadan* *=yadi* *roro*
EXIST remnant   {still}   actually
'There is still a remnant, actually.'

Temporal adverbs often occur in apposition with a subordinate clause:

(680) *ebi*   *nu*   *au*   *ta-g-et*   *emu*
in.past SUB 1SG.NOM NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-make.request 2SG.ACC

w   *=o*   *g-foyuŋ*   *aŋku*
NEG 2SG.NOM IPFV;AGT-show 1SG.ACC
'In the past, when I was the one who was making a request of you, you didn't show me.'

Some of the clitics can attach to temporal adverbs. Compare the next two examples:

(681) *di*   *=ban*   *=o*   *ga-faliŋun-an*
NEG {future} 2SG.NOM IPFV;ADVERS-mistreat-RES
'You won't get mistreated.'

(682) *bandi*   *=ban*   *di*   *=o*   *ta-ga-faliŋun-an*   *fag*   *taw*
in.future {future} NEG 2SG.NOM NMLZ-IPFV;ADVERS-mistreat-RES LNK person
'In the future, you won't be a person who gets mistreated.'

The first of these two clauses illustrates the 'normal' placement of clitics in a negated clause. In the second clause, the pronominal clitic is in its expected position, but the clitic *=ban* occurs before the negator because it has attached to the adverb *bandi*.

9.4.4   Prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases generally occur at the end of a sentence, after the object NP (if present):

(683) *ay*   *at*   *uŋa*   *=unu*   *g-suad*   *at*   *tina*   *ba-amunti*   *sa*   *at*   *sabi*
And DET child {hearsay} IPFV;AGT-put.inside DET mother ACQ-sweet.potato ALL DET basket
'And the child was putting the mother's load of sweet potato into the basket.'

(684) *nà-lag*   *=ami*   *sik*   *ta-g-awaŋ*   *si*   *m*   *tuŋud*
IPFV;AGT-see 1PL.NOM.EXCL DET NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-make.noise LOC 2SG.GEN area.above
'We saw an aeroplane above (you).'

Oblique demonstratives (essentially a kind of prepositional phrase) also tend to occur towards the end of the sentence:

(685) *g-ayayag*   *=wa*   *=tam*   *sanya*
IPFV;AGT-go.aimlessly {now} 1PL.NOM.INCL DEM.DIST.OBL
'Let's go for a wander there.'

(686) *bandi*   *=ban*   *ka-foli*   *=yaŋay* *=o*   *stie*
       in.future {future} IPFV;NAGT-return {repeat} 2SG.NOM DEM.PROX.OBL
       'In the future you will come here again.'

They sometimes precede the object NP:

(687) *suad-i*   *sanya*   *tam*   *ŋeŋe*
       put.inside-IMPV DEM.DIST.OBL 1PL.GEN.INCL baby
       'Put our baby in there.'

9.5 Non-Declarative clauses

9.5.1 Imperatives

Imperative clauses usually have no overt subject. In positive imperatives, the verb takes the imperative suffix (section 4.4.2.2):

(688) *foyuŋ-i*   *aŋku*   *am*   *amunti*
       [AGT]-show-IMPV 1SG.ACC 2SG.GEN sweet.potato
       'Show me your sweet potato patch.'

In negative imperatives, the negative imperative *lag* precedes the verb, and the verb does not take imperative morphology:

(689) *lag*   *g-ubun*   *aŋku*
       NEG;IMPV   IPFV;AGT-leave.behind 1SG.ACC
       'Don't leave me behind!'

If the discourse particle *an* (section 3.2.11) occurs in an imperative clause, it also takes the imperative suffix. (Note that this is the only affixation which *an* undergoes):

(690) *an-i*   *=tua*   *fagbulun-i*
       DISCP-IMPV {good} [AGT]-work-IMPV
       'Work!'

(691) *an-i*   *=wa*   *gamat-i*   *=wan* *tam*   *ŋay* *manuk*
       DISCP-IMPV {now} [AGT]-catch-IMPV {now} 1PL.GEN.INCL PL bird
       'Go catch our birds.'

Imperatives can also be formed with any one of the specialised imperative predicates (section 3.2.9).

Occasionally, imperatives with overt, 3rd-person subjects occur:

(692) *fag-ayu*   *taw*   *duŋug-an-i*   *ku*   *foyuŋ-an*
       QUANT-be.many person hear-VOLITION-IMPV 1SG.GEN teach-NMLZ
       'Let all people listen to my teaching.'

9.5.2 Questions

9.5.2.1 Polar questions

Polar questions are marked by the particle *go*, which comes at the beginning of the question:

(693) *go   e   taw*
    Q   EXIST person
    'Is there a person?'

(694) *go g-ubun   =w   =o   tam   fa-k-amato-un   tina*
    Q   IPFV;AGT-abandon {now} 2SG.NOM 1PL.GEN.INCL NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-babysit-NMLZ mother
    'Are you abandoning the mother of our [child] who is babysat?'

    This particle does not affect the syntax of the rest of the clause. Polar questions are essentially indicative clauses with the addition of the question particle.

9.5.2.2   Content questions

Content questions use the interrogatives which were introduced in section 3.2.8. Content questions often consist of an interrogative followed by a noun phrase:

(695) *sinu   am   ŋayan*
    who 2SG.GEN name
    'Who is your name?' (i.e. 'What is your name?')

(696) *dada   emu   m   bale*
    where 2SG.ACC 2SG.GEN house
    'Where is <u>your</u> house?'[66]

In addition to an interrogative, they sometimes begin with the same question particle *go* that is used in polar questions:

(697) *go seyu   =ro   kanya*
    Q   how.many {inferential} DEM.DIST
    'How many would that be?'

    Noun phrases used in content questions include both noun phrases with nominalised verbs as heads (section 5.3) and appositive nominal constructions (section 5.4):

(698) *sinu   at   nà-fon   emu*
    who DET [NMLZ]:PFV;AGT-give 2SG.ACC
    'Who was the one who gave it to you?'

(699) *ada   ay   fa-g-tiug-an   iste*
    where 2PL.GEN NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-sleep-NMLZ DEM.PROX.OBL
    'Where is the place where you sleep here?'

(700) *go sinu ta-ka-dasug   ta-g-una*
    Q   who NMLZ-IPFV;NAGT-arrive NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-go.first
    'Who will be the first one to arrive?'

    Aside from forming questions using noun phrases, content questions can also be formed using *nu* clauses (see section 10.3). As in the case of content questions formed with noun phrases, the interrogative comes at the beginning of the question. It is followed by the *nu* clause, which does not

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[66] The noun phrase in this example uses contrastive possession (see section 5.2.4)

contain any reference to the referent of the interrogative. The following examples show typical *nu* clause content questions:

(701) *dada   nu   ka-te*
      where SUB IPFV;NAGT-die
      'Where did [he] die?'

(702) *setain nu   g-alo   =am   tam   iba*
      how   SUB IPFV;AGT-go.with 2PL.NOM 1PL.GEN.INCL fellow.one
      'How do you get along with other people?'

(703) *se-tvŋvd   nu   g-useganan   =am*
      how-extreme SUB IPFV;AGT-be.happy 2PL.NOM
      'How happy are you?'

10
Beyond Basic Clauses

This chapter is an introduction to Eastern Tawbuid grammar above the level of the basic clause. It begins with a section on topic-comment structure, a structure where an additional phrase occurs in the sentence outside of the main clause (section 10.1).

The section on topic-comment structure is followed by an introduction to the various ways that basic clauses are combined. This includes serial verb constructions (section 10.2) and clausal nominalisations (section 10.3) as well as complement clauses and control constructions (section 10.4).

The chapter ends with sections on clause coordination and subordination, as well as how Eastern Tawbuid handles quotations (sections 10.5–10.7).

10.1   Topic-Comment structure

Clauses with a topic-comment structure frequently appear in Eastern Tawbuid texts. For example:

(704) *am*   *iba*   *ma-pnu*   =*way* =*ŋap*   *at*   *sabi*
    2SG.GEN   companion ADJ-be.full {extreme }   3GEN   basket
    'Your companions, their baskets are extremely full.'

(705) *em*   *ugali*   *ste*
    1PL.GEN.EXCL custom   DEM.PROX.OBL

    maŋama   *ta-g-bul*   *kayu*   *at*   *fan-turuk*
    man   NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-get wood   3GEN   INS-stick.end.in.ground
    'Our custom here, the men are the ones who get wood for them to poke in the ground.'

(706) *at*   *talanan* *sa*   *ku*   *dayu*   *sa*   *at*   *alin-an*
    DET   family   ALL   1SG.GEN   area.away   ALL   3GEN   shift.dwelling-NMLZ

    ma-tiŋɨd   *nu*   *ka-lunus*
    ADJ-be.extreme   SUB   IPFV;NAGT-be.hungry
    'The family, far away (from me), at the place that they had moved to, [their] hunger was extreme.'

There do not appear to be any constraints on the kind of semantic role which the topic can have relative to the rest of the sentence. Even noun phrases that could not form part of the clause that acts as the comment can serve as the topic. In this example of topic-comment structure, the topic clearly does not fulfill a core semantic role in the event described by the comment:

(707) *em*   *fama-laŋaŋ*   =*fiafia*   *t*   *safa*
    1PL.GEN.EXCL INS:CAUS-be.shallow {strictly.true} DET   river

    an   =*tua*   *ig-daga*   =*ami*
    DISCP   {good} IPFV;AGT-dirt   1PL.NOM.EXCL
    'Our real means of making the river shallow, we put dirt [on it].'
    (from an explanation of how to make a fishing dam)

It appears, therefore, that any noun phrase which is topical and has a pragmatically understood connection to the comment can function as the topic.

When the topic is a pronoun, it takes nominative case. In this sense, it is like subject pronouns, but unlike subject pronouns, which are clitics, the topic pronoun is independent:

(708) *o*   *ig-fa-bili*   *=wa*   *=mi*   *emu*
       2SG.NOM IPFV;AGT-CAUS-buy {already} 1PL.NOM.EXCL 2SG.ACC
       'You, we are going to sell you.'

10.2   Serial verb constructions

Serial verb constructions are clauses where multiple verbs occur within a single predicate, without any overt morphology which indicates the relationship between these verbs.

    All instances of serial verb constructions which I have observed in Eastern Tawbuid contain only two verbs. Both verbs take normal aspect-mood affixes. The verbs always have the same subject, and that subject is only expressed once, in the position where one would expect the subject of the first of the two verbs. For example, in the following clause, the subject of the verb series is a full noun phrase, so it precedes the first verb:

(709) *at* *fuyu*   *=unu*   *g-useganan*   *=way* *g-rabas*   *sa* *at*   *tuŋud*
       DET youngest.sibling {hearsay} IPFV;AGT-rejoice {bad} IPFV;AGT-pick ALL 3GEN area.above
       'The youngest sibling was just happily picking [pili nuts] above them.'

    In the following clause, the subject is a clitic pronoun, and therefore follows the first component of the predicate; in this case, the discourse particle *an*:

(710) *an*   *=ak*   *=way* *g-ayayag*   *g-faŋ-umaŋ*
       DISCP 1SG.NOM {bad} IPFV;AGT-wander IPFV;AGT-ACQ-snail
       'I am just wandering around in search of snails.'

    If there is no other element in the predicate which precedes the first verb in a verb series, the clitic series will follow the first verb rather than following the verb series as a whole:

(711) *nà-dog*   *=yay*   *=unu*   *=fia*   *nàfa-bul*   *sik* *albon*
       PFV;AGT-do.again {repeat1 hearsay repeat2} POT;PFV;AGT-get DET wild.pig
       'He was able to catch a wild pig again.'

10.3   Clausal nominalisations

Clausal nominalisation refers to "the placement of a clause, or a combination of clauses…into a broader syntactic structure where it functions as a noun phrase" (Genetti 2011:7). Clausal nominalisations are not to be confused with action nominal constructions, where a noun that has been derived in some way from a verb acts as the head of a phrase referring to an action or event. While an action nominal construction may be clause-like, it differs from a clausal nominalisation in that its head is a noun (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2013). In a clausal nominalisation, on the other hand, an entire clause is treated as if it were a noun phrase.

    Clausal nominalisations are formed in Eastern Tawbuid using the very common subordinator *nu*. This word has several functions: it is used in forming some types of content questions (section 9.5.2.2), as well as temporal/conditional subordinate clauses (section 10.7.3). In this section, I first discuss in general terms how clauses that contain *nu* are formed. After this, I discuss how *nu* clauses are used as clausal nominalisations, as well as syntactic differences between *nu* clauses used as clausal nominalisations and other *nu* clauses.

    The internal syntax of a *nu* clause is similar to that of any other clause. In most cases, the only difference between a *nu* clause and any other clause is the presence of the particle *nu* at the beginning of

the predicate, while everything else (word order, case marking on pronouns) remains the same. Compare the following pairs of clauses:[67]

(712) a. **Plain clause:** *am   sumyu   k-ulug*
              2SG.GEN   finger   IPFV;AGT-shake
              'Your fingers shake.'

    b. ***nu* clause:** *am   sumyu   nu   k-ulug*
              2SG.GEN   finger   SUB   IPFV;AGT-shake
              'the shaking of your fingers'[68]

(713) a. **Plain clause:** *g-faŋ-almatuk   =au*
              IPFV;AGT-ACQ-leech   1SG.NOM
              'I'm looking for leeches.'

    b. ***nu* clause:** *nu   g-faŋ-almatuk   =au*
              SUB   IPFV;AGT-ACQ-leech   2SG.NOM
              'my search for leeches'

(714) a. **Plain clause:** *tam   iba   ma-lindug si   t   dayu*
              1PL.GEN.INCL   fellow.one   ADJ-stand   LOC   3GEN   area.away
              'The other people are standing some distance from him'

    b. ***nu* clause:** *tam   iba   nu   ma-lindug si   t   dayu*
              1PL.GEN.INCL   fellow.one   SUB   ADJ-stand   LOC   3GEN   area.away
              'the other people's standing some distance from him'

Even though the internal syntax of nominalised *nu* clauses is predominantly clause-like, it becomes clear, when one examines the wider syntactic context where they occur, that they are nominalisations. Nominalised *nu* clauses are integrated into other phrases and clauses in the same way that more typical noun phrases are. For example, prepositional phrases can be formed using *nu* clauses in the same way that prepositional phrases can be formed with many other noun phrases (see section 6.2). Compare the following pairs of prepositional phrases:

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[67] Since English does not use clausal nominalisations, I translate Eastern Tawbuid clausal nominalisations with action nominal constructions. Most of these are noun phrases with gerunds as their heads. If I think that using an action nominal construction results in an English translation that is misleading or too confusing, I give an additional, less literal translation.

[68] Strictly speaking, this stand-alone *nu* clause (and others like it that are listed in this section) could also be translated as a temporal/conditional clause since there is nothing about it that marks it as a nominalised *nu* clause as opposed to a temporal/conditional *nu* clause. Without any context, *am sumyu nu kulug* could therefore either be 'if/when your fingers shake' or 'the shaking of your fingers'. However, since the focus of this section is on the clausal nominalisation function of *nu* clauses, for simplicity's sake I have not listed a temporal/conditional translation every time that a temporal/conditional interpretation is possible. Note that all of the *nu* clauses in this section are *nu* clauses which were used as clausal nominalisations in natural speech, or variations on those clausal nominalisations which were produced during elicitation sessions.

(715) a. *sa*   = *baliwa*   *am*   *ba-yaŋo*
         ALL   ADE   2SG.GEN   ACQ-deadwood
         'regarding the deadwood you have gathered'

     b. *sa*   = *baliwa*   *nu*   *g-fan-yaŋo*
         ALL   ADE   SUB   IPFV;AGT-ACQ-deadwood
         'regarding the gathering of deadwood'

(716) a. *sa*   = *baliwa*   *tam*   *iba*   *na-balu-an*
         ALL   ADE   1PL.GEN.INCL   fellow.one   NMLZ-be.sad-NMLZ
         'regarding that which other people are sad about'

     b. *sa*   = *baliwa*   *nu*   *an*   = *tam*   *ig-fa-balu-anan*[69]   *tam*   *iba*
         ALL   ADE   SUB   DISCP   1PL.NOM.INCL   IPFV;AGT-CAUS-be.sad-RES   1PL.GEN.INCL   fellow.one
         'regarding our making other people sad' (i.e. 'regarding how we make other people sad')

In both pairs, the first prepositional phrase has a subsumed noun phrase which is typical of the noun phrases seen so far. In example (715a), the head noun is a root which can function as a noun without any additional affixation; in example (716a), the head noun is a source nominalisation (section 4.5.3.3). In contrast, the subsumed noun phrase in examples (715b) and (716b) is a *nu* clause. The fact that these clauses can take the place of a noun phrase in a prepositional phrase shows that they are clausal nominalisations.

Furthermore, *nu* clauses can also be found acting as noun phrases within the context of another clause. Compare the following two clauses:

(717) a. *in-tabu*   = *wan*   *ku*   *fa-ga-loŋ-un*
         PFV;NAGT-finish   {already}   1SG.GEN   NMLZ-ANTIC;IPFV;AGT-say-ANTIC;NMLZ
         'What I want to say is finished.'

     b. *in-tabu*   = *wan*   *nu*   *g-eloŋan*   = *au*
         PFV;NAGT-finish   {already}   SUB   IPFV;AGT-speak   1SG.NOM
         'My speaking is finished.' (i.e. 'I'm done talking.')

In example (717a), the subject is a noun phrase with a nominalised verb as its head. Example (717b) has a similar structure and conveys a similar meaning, except that the subject noun phrase is now a clausal nominalisation.

There is a further piece of evidence that some *nu* clauses are clausal nominalisations. This evidence comes from negation. As a glance at section 3.2.10 will show, Eastern Tawbuid has an array of negators. The choice of which negator to use in any given context is influenced by several different factors, including whether negation is occurring at the phrase or the clause level, and if the latter is true, what kind of clause is being negated. At the phrase level, the negator is always *(g)yud*. This negator is also used by some subordinate clauses (see section 10.7), but not by *nu* clauses with a temporal/conditional function. All *nu* clauses with a temporal/conditional function use the negators *(d)way*, *(d)yay*, and *gdi* (see section 3.2.10.2).

All *nu* clauses which function as clausal nominalisations are negated differently to temporal/conditional *nu* clauses. Rather than taking *(d)way*, *(d)yay*, and *gdi*, they take *(g)yud* as their negator. Consider the following example:

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[69] For reasons that I have not been able to determine, the resulting state suffix -*an* (section 4.2.1) is reduplicated whenever it attaches to the root *balu*.

(718) sad yabi nà-lugo   = baŋan   nu yud = tam   g-tiug
    INE night PFV;AGT-be.long {mostly.true} SUB NEG 1PL.NOM.INCL IPFV;AGT-sleep
    'In the night our not sleeping was kind of long.'
    (i.e. 'In the night there was a fairly long time during which we didn't sleep.')

In this example, the clausal nominalisation *nu yud tam gtiug* is acting as the subject of *nàlugo*. What is interesting, however, is that the negator within the *nu* clause is not *(d)way*, as one would expect if this were a temporal/conditional *nu* clause, but rather *(g)yud*. The same is true of the following example:

(719) unda   ma-son   = wan   kanya   nu yud g-faŋ-a-pla
    maybe ADJ-be.extreme {already} DEM.DIST SUB NEG IPFV-HABIT-NAGT-be.shy
    'Maybe that [person]'s not being shy is extreme.'

Attempting to replace the negator *(g)yud* in nominalised *nu* clauses with a negator that is used in temporal/conditional *nu* clauses (like *(d)way*) results in statements which native speakers reject as either ungrammatical or semantically unacceptable. For example, when I replaced *(g)yud* in example (719) with *(d)way*, my informant at the time rejected it, claiming that 'It doesn't say anything':

(720) !/*unda ma-son   = wan   kanya   nu dway g-faŋ-a-pla
    maybe   ADJ-be.extreme {already} DEM.DIST SUB NEG   IPFV-HABIT-NAGT-be.shy

On the other hand, if the sentence is altered in such a way that it is clear that the *nu* clause has a temporal/conditional function, the negator *(d)way* becomes acceptable:

(721) kanya   nu dway g-faŋ-a-pla
    DEM.DIST SUB NEG   IPFV-HABIT-NAGT-be.shy

    ma-son   = ro   nu g-faŋ-et
    ADJ-be.extreme   {inferential} SUB IPFV-HABIT-[AGT]-make.request
    'If that [person] isn't shy, his/her habit of asking for things will surely be extreme.'

In short, *nu* phrases which function as clausal nominalisations are negated differently to *nu* clauses which function as temporal/conditional subordinate clauses. While temporal/conditional *nu* clauses take their own set of negators, clausal nominalisations take the negator *(g)yud*, the only negator that can be used for phrase-level negation. This makes sense if one bears in mind that in a way, clausal nominalisations are another kind of noun phrase. Although the internal syntax of Eastern Tawbuid clausal nominalisations remains overwhelmingly clause-like, the fact that they use the same negator as other noun phrases could be interpreted as one element of their internal syntax becoming subtly phrase-like in response to nominalisation.

10.4 Complement clauses

Complement clauses are clauses which function as the complement of a verb in another, major clause. In Eastern Tawbuid, this function is largely covered by clausal nominalisations. For example:

(722) ka   fag taw   ka-umsig   at   uŋa nu g-alo
    DEM.DIST LNK person IPFV;NAGT-want 3GEN child SUB IPFV;AGT-accompany
    'That person wants their child to come along.'

In this sentence, the clausal nominalisation *at uŋa nu galo* 'their child's coming along' is acting a complement to the verb *kaumsig*. This clause is not distinct syntactically from any other clause containing a clausal nominalisation. Indeed, if all complement clauses in Eastern Tawbuid functioned in

this way, there would be no need to discuss complement clauses, since this function would be entirely taken care of by clausal nominalisation.

However, some complement clauses in Eastern Tawbuid are not clausal nominalisations. If the verb in the complement clause and the verb in the major clause have the same subject, and the verb in the major clause is a 'control' verb, then a clausal nominalisation is not used. Instead, the complement clause is juxtaposed to the major clause, and the subject is only overtly expressed once, as the subject of the major clause:

(723) *tam*   *iba*   *ka-umsig*   *g-alo*
   1PL.GEN.INCL fellow.one IPFV;NAGT-want IPFV;AGT-accompany
   'The others want to come along.'

In this example, one could argue that the reason the subject of the complement clause is not overtly expressed is because the subject is 3rd person. (Zero anaphora is the norm for 3rd person subjects in Eastern Tawbuid – see section 3.2.4.) However, the same pattern can be observed with subjects in 1st and 2nd person (see section 8.1.1.2). If the subject of the major clause and the complement clause differ, both clauses will contain an overt subject, and the complement clause will be a clausal nominalisation:

(724) *ka-umsig*   *=au* *nu* *g-alo*   *=am*
   IPFV;NAGT-want 1SG.NOM SUB IPFV;AGT-accompany 2PL.NOM
   'I want you to come along.'

On the other hand, if the subject of the major clause and the complement clause are the same, then the complement clause will have no overt subject, and a clausal nominalisation does not occur:

(725) a. *ka-umsig*   *=au* *g-alo*
    IPFV;NAGT-want 1SG.NOM IPFV;AGT-accompany
    'I want to come along.'

In other words, what we have here is equi-NP deletion. Attempting to use a clausal nominalisation in a case where equi-NP deletion is possible results in ungrammaticality:

(725) b. **ka-umsig*   *=au* *nu* *g-alo*   *=au*
    IPFV;NAGT-want 1SG.NOM SUB IPFV;AGT-accompany 1SG.NOM

Only the subject has been observed to be deleted in this way.

A comparison with section 10.2 will show that constructions involving control verbs and equi-NP deletion are superficially like serial verb constructions. Both constructions contain a pair of affixed verbs which share a subject. There are, however, differences between the two which prove that they are not actually the same construction. As was mentioned in the section on serial verb construction, both verbs in a verb series take the full range of aspect-mood affixes. For example, both verbs can take projective affixes, or imperative affixes:

(726) *maskud*   *=au* *m-urug*
   PROJ;AGT:attempt 1SG.NOM PROJ;AGT-pull.upwards
   'I'll have a go at pulling it upwards.'

(727) *guruŋan-i*   *=tua* *fa-lyam-i*
   [AGT]-be.true-IMPV {good} [AGT]-CAUS-be.lost-IMPV
   'Really get rid of it.'

In a control construction, however, only the control verb can take a variety of aspect-mood affixes. The complement verb can only take imperfective affixes, regardles of the affixes on the control verb. For

example, in the following sentence, the control verb takes a perfective affix, but the complement verb takes an imperfective affix:

(728) a. *in-nanad* =*au* *g-lo*
PFV;NAGT-be.accustomed 1SG.NOM IPFV;AGT-walk
'I am used to walking.'

For the complement verb to take a perfective aspect would be ungrammatical:

(728) b. **in-nanad* =*au* *nà-lo*
PFV;NAGT-be.accustomed 1SG.NOM PFV;AGT-walk

The same principle can be illustrated with *umsig* 'want'. The control verb can take perfective aspect:

(729) a. *ka-umsig* =*au* *g-alo*
IPFV;NAG-want 1SG.NOM IPFV;AGT-accompany
'I want to come along.'

b. *ink-umsig* =*au* *g-alo*
PFV;NAGT-want 1SG.NOM IPFV;AGT-accompany
'I decided to come along.'

The complement verb, on the other hand, cannot – even if the control verb is in perfective aspect:

(729) c. **ka-umsig* =*au* *nà-alo*
IPFV;NAGT-want 1SG.NOM PFV;AGT-accompany

d. **ink-umsig* =*au* *nà-alo*
PFV;NAGT-want 1SG.NOM PFV;AGT-accompany

10.5   Coordinate clauses

Clauses can follow one another without a conjunction, as the following text excerpt shows:

(730) a. *nu* *g-tanum* =*ami* *em* *fare*
SUB IPFV;AGT-plant 1PL.NOM.EXCL 1PL.GEN.EXCL rice

nà-gamas =*wa* =*mi*
PFV;AGT-clear.swidden {already} 1PL.NOM.EXCL
'When we plant our rice, we have already cleared the swidden.'

b. *nà-labe* =*wa* =*mi*
PFV;AGT-burn {already} 1PL.NOM.EXCL
'We have already burnt [it] off.'

c. *nà-tafuŋ* =*wa* =*mi*
PFV;AGT-clean.swidden {already} 1PL.NOM.EXCL
'We have already cleaned [it].'

d. *katsi* *em* *gamas-un* *ma-lanu* =*wan*
now 1PL.NOM.EXCL clear.swidden-NMLZ ADJ-be.bare {already}
'Now our swidden is bare.'

However, they can also be linked together with the generic coordinating conjunction *ay*, as in the following text excerpt:

(731) a. *ay   kanya   =unu   roro   nan-faŋ-ubi*
           and   DEM.DIST {hearsay} actually INTENT;IPFV-[AGT]-ACQ-sweet.potato
           'And they were actually going to gather sweet potato.'

       b. *ay   an   =unu   =gugat   g-faŋ-ubi   talmanugaŋ*
           and DISCP {hearsay extended.time} IPFV;AGT-ACQ-sweet.potato parent.in.law + child.in.law
           'And they were gathering sweet potato for a while, the mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law were.'

       c. *ay   rodi   g-uli   =wan*
           and later IPFV;AGT-go.home {already}
           'And later, they are on their way home.'

       d. *ay   rodi   ig-fan-seud   =wan*
           and later IPFV-HABIT-[AGT]-cook {already}
           'And later still, they are doing the chores one does to cook.'

Clauses linked with *ay* tend to refer to events which follow one another in time, but this is not always the case (see lines 6-7 of 'The Leaf-Cape' text, which are linked with *ay* but describe concurrent events).

10.6 Quotations

The particle *te* occurs in clauses which introduce a quotation. Most quotations in Eastern Tawbuid are direct:

(732) *at   sadi nu   nà-duŋug   nà-loŋ   te*
       DET one SUB PFV;AGT-hear PFV;AGT-say QUOT

       e   kin   naŋ-alo   =au   emu
       INTERJ yes INTENT;IPFV-[AGT]-go.with 1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC
       'And when another one heard, [she] said: "Oh, yes, I would like to go with you."'

Examples of *te* occurring in a clause followed by direct quotation can also be seen in many places in the texts in the Appendix. (For example, see lines 23 and 36 in 'The Leaf-Cape' text, and lines 4 and 6 in 'The Carrying-Strap' text.)
Occasionally the clause containing *te* is followed by an indirect quotation. Examples of this can be seen in lines 5 and 29 of 'The Leaf-Cape' text.
In example (732), the particle *te* occurs at the end of the clause introducing the quotation. However, this is not always the case. In the following example, the particle *te* is followed by the subject of the clause it occurs in as well as a subordinate clause (see section 10.7.3 for formation of this kind of subordinate clause):

(733) *ay   ig-loŋ   =unu   te   at   uŋa   nu   ka-yabi   =wan*
       and IPFV;AGT-say {hearsay} QUOT DET child SUB IPFV;NAGT-be.night {already}

       sek   mina   g-uli   =wa   =ta
       INTERJ mother IPFV;AGT-go.home {already} 1DU.NOM.INCL
       'And the child said as it was becoming night, "Aw mum let's go home!"'

Cases such as this one suggest *te* is not a conjunction or a kind of linker that connects the quote-introduction and the quoted clause. It is 'inside' the quote-introduction clause. (Further examples of *te* followed by another part of the main clause can be seen in lines 8, 9 and 28 of 'The Carrying-Strap' text.)

The particle *te* is does not always co-occur with verbs of communication. In fact, *te* often occurs in clauses where the predicate is an adjective or verb that does not refer at all to a communicative act. In these cases, the quoted clause expresses what the subject of the clause containing the *te* was thinking, intending, or in some cases saying:

(734) *at   faŋkamato   =unu   ma-balu-anan*[70]   *te*
       DET babysitter {hearsay} ADJ-be.sad-RES   QUOT

     au   =way sesadi katsi
     1SG.NOM   {bad} alone now
     'The babysitter was sad: "I am alone now" '
     i.e. 'The babysitter was sad as she thought that she was alone.'

(735) *nan-faskud*   *=au*   *naŋ-urug*   *te*
       INTENT;IPFV-[AGT]-attempt 1SG.NOM   INTENT;IPFV-[AGT]-pull.up QUOT

     go fa-mad   *=au*
     Q   POT;IPFV;AGT-bear.weight 1SG.NOM
     'I was going to try and pull it up: "Can I bear its weight?" '
     i.e. 'I was going to try and pull it up to find out if I could bear its weight.'

(736) *g-uli*   *=w*   *=o*   *=daw*   *te*   *k=*   *wa*   *nàfa-mad*
       IPFV;AGT-go.home {sudden1} 2SG.NOM {sudden2} QUOT 1SG.NOM NEG POT;PFV;AGT-lift
     'You came straight home: "I couldn't lift it."'
     i.e. 'You came straight home saying you couldn't lift it.'

Examples of this can also be found in lines 25 and 30 of 'The Leaf-Cape' text.

10.7 Subordinate clauses

The syntax of subordinate clauses in Eastern Tawbuid is not uniform. Different syntactic properties relating to negation and word order are associated with different subordinators. These can be grouped into three types:

Table 10.1 Differences between subordinate clause types

	Type I	Type II	*nu* clause
Negator	Same as in independent clauses	Same as in noun phrases	Unique to this kind of clause
Placement of pronominal and semantic clitics	Mostly unaffected by subordinator	All affected by subordinator	All unaffected by subordinator
Placement of pre-predicate subject noun phrase	After subordinator	Variable	Before subordinator

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[70] For reasons that I have not been able to determine, the resulting state suffix *-an* (section 4.2.1) is reduplicated whenever it attaches to the root *balu.*

In the following section, I will describe each of these three types in turn, beginning with a discussion of the general properties of each type of subordinate clause, and then a description of the functions and properties of the individual subordinators which occur within that type.

10.7.1   Type I

Among subordinate clause types, Type I clauses are the ones that most resemble independent clauses. The same kind of negation that is used in independent clauses is used in these clauses. Compare the negation in the following Type I subordinate clauses with the examples of negation in section 3.2.10.2:

(737) *teway   w   =o   ga-nanad   k-on   idu*
       because   NEG   2SG.NOM   IPFV;ADVERS-be.accustomed   IPFV;AGT-eat   dog
       'because you're not used to eating dog'

(738) *teway   ya   =fiafia   e   fagbulun*
       because   NEG   {strictly.true}   EXIST   work
       'because [they] don't really have work yet'

(739) *laman   di   ka-toŋ*
       so.that   NEG   IPFV;NAGT-fall
       'so that [it] doesn't fall'

Aside from this, most clausal clitics occur in the same places as in independent clauses. Compare the following examples with section 9.4.1.2:

(740) *teway   nà-ulit   =o*
       because   PFV;AGT-watch   2SG.NOM
       'because you watched'

(741) *laman   màfa-fagbulun   =yaŋay   =tam   kata   at   fa-ka-umsig-un*
       so.that   POT;IPFV;AGT-behave   {repeat}   1PL.NOM.INCL   like   3GEN   NMLZ-IPFV;NAGT-want-NMLZ
       'so that we can also behave like what he wants.'

While most clitics, including nominative pronoun clitics, are unaffected by the presence of a Type I subordinator, there are a few exceptions. Instead of occurring in the normal position for the clitic series, the clitics =*ban* 'future', =*ro* 'irrealis' and =*unu* 'hearsay' occur immediately after the subordinator:

(742) *laman   =ban   di   ka-limata   emu*
       so.that   {future}   NEG   IPFV;NAGT-hate   2SG.ACC
       'so that [they] won't hate you'

(743) *laman   =ro   dak=   di   l<um>ag*
       so.that   {irrealis}   1SG.NOM   NEG   <PROJ;AGT>see

       ku   talnayan   nu   k-ate
       1SG.GEN   mother+children   SUB   IPFV;NAGT-die
       'so that I won't see my wife and children as [they] die'

(744) *tey   =unu   ma-daŋsal*
       because   {hearsay}   ADJ-be.slippery
       'because [it] was slippery'

The evidence, therefore, is that in Type I subordinate clauses, the clitics *=ban, =ro* and *=unu* attach to the subordinator itself. This is also suggested by the following statement, where another subordinate clause (marked by *nu*) is nested within a Type I subordinate clause:

(745) *teway   =ban   (nu am   =wan)   wa =am   saful   g-fagbulun*
      because {future} SUB 2PL.NOM {already} NEG 2PL.NOM know IPFV;AGT-work
      'because (when it's your turn) you won't know how to work.'

Even though the nested subordinate clause marked by *nu* separates the clitic *=ban* from the rest of the Type I clause, the clitic remains attached to the subordinator *teway*.

    In Type I subordinate clauses, the subordinator is positioned at the edge of the subordinate clause. This is the case even if the subject of the subordinate clause is a noun phrase which precedes the predicate:

(746) *teway   ku   uban   ka-lifuŋ   =wan   =ay*
      because 1SG.GEN carrying.strap IPFV;NAGT-split {already reason}
      'because my carrying strap is already splitting'

Type I subordinate clauses are used to communicate reason, grounds, and purpose.

10.7.1.1   *Reason*

The subordinator *teway* is used in clauses which communicate the reason why something happens:

(747) *m-eyap   =ro   am   darafa teway   ma-yaŋfis =way am   balat*
      PROJ;NAGT-tickle {inferential} 2SG.GEN foot   because ADJ-be.thin {bad} 2SG.GEN skin
      'Your feet must tickle because your skin is thin.'

As this example illustrates, *teway* normally introduces the subordinate clause. Occasionally, however, speakers produce it at the end of the clause:

(748) *wa   =mi   =gugat   ka-fulo   teway*
      NEG 1PL.NOM.EXCL {durative} IPFV;NAGT-wake.up because
      'Because we kept on not waking up.'

Eastern Tawbuid also has the clausal clitic *=ay* for communicating reason (see section [3.2.14](#)). Often, these two forms co-occur in the same clause:

(749) *g-yawa   =yay =ami   at   fun*
      IPFV;NAGT-weed {still} 1PL.NOM.EXCL DET stalk

      teway   sinandu   g-faŋ-a-te,   =way =ay
      because elephant.ear.taro IPFV-HABIT-NAGT-die {bad   reason}
      'We weed the stalk for a bit because elephant ear taro has a habit of dying.'

Aside from *teway*, Reed and Reed (1990) give another subordinator *anway* which they gloss as 'because'. I have encountered a few instances of this subordinator, as in the following excerpt from a natural text:

(750) *at   uŋa in-lufuy   =wan   anway bagu =yay g-laklo*
      DET child PFV;NAGT-be.tired {already} because new {still} IPFV;AGT-go.out
      'The child got tired straightaway because she was still new to going out.'

In most cases, however, what appears to be *anway* is best explained as the discourse particle *an* (section 3.2.11) followed by the clitic =*way*:

(751) way =am   ig-yawa   an   =way =am   kamul
      NEG 2PL.NOM IPFV;AGT-weed DISCP {bad} 2PL.NOM IPFV:HABIT:[AGT]:take
      'If you don't weed, you steal.'

10.7.1.2 Grounds

The subordinator *madyay* marks clauses which express one's grounds for reaching a conclusion:

(752) wa   ma-yamag   tam   riruk-an   madyay   Rusa wa nàfa-bul
      NEG ADJ-be.clear 1PL.GEN.INCL write-NMLZ seeing.as *Rusa* NEG POT;PFV;AGT-get
      'What we have written must not be clear, seeing as *Rusa* didn't get [it].'[71]

10.7.1.3 Purpose

The subordinator *laman* marks clauses which express purpose:[72]

(753) ya   g-fa-taka-n   at   baguina
      NEG IPFV;AGT-CAUS-be.difficult-RES 3GEN young.woman

      laman   ig-laklo   =tua   bandi
      so.that IPFV;AGT-go.out {good} in.future
      '[She] isn't making it hard for her daughter yet so that [she] will go out in the future.'

(754) ali-i   =yap =sirut si s   daga   fun
      [AGT]-dig-IMPV {a.bit little} LOC OBL space.below stalk

      laman   at   daga ka-lumak
      so.that DET dirt IPFV;NAGT-be.soft
      'Dig a little bit below the stalk so that the dirt becomes soft.'

This subordinator also has a short form *lan,* with no apparent difference in meaning:

(755) ami   =way fag ful-an   ta-k-on
      1PL.NOM.EXCL {just} LNK be.gathered-NMLZ NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-eat

      lan   =ro   m   iba   butan wa k-ate
      so.that {irrealis} 2SG.GEN fellow.one pig NEG IPFV;NAGT-die
      'We, that is, our group, are the only ones who eat it so that your fellow people's pigs don't die.'

10.7.2   Type II

Type II subordinate clauses use the negator (g)*yud*, which outside of Type II subordinate clauses occurs only in noun phrases (see section 3.2.10.1):

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[71] This idiomatic sense of *bul* 'get', which happens to parallel one sense of the English word 'get', is very common in Eastern Tawbuid usage.

[72] Apart from being a conjunction, the word *laman* (or its shortened form *lan*) is used frequently as a hesitation device. This can be seen in the texts in the Appendix, e.g. line 1 of 'The Leaf-Cape' story.

(756) *kaduge   yud   ma-fandiug-an*
      while   NEG   ADJ-be.in.accord-RES
      'while [one] was not in accord'

(757) *dewa   =au   yud   nà-ŋayan   ku   ŋayan*
      even.if   1SG.NOM   NEG   PFV;AGT-name   1SG.GEN   name
      'even if I don't say my name'

As example (757) illustrates, the presence of a subordinator in a Type II subordinate clause affects the placement of clausal clitics. These tend to attach to the subordinator:

(758) *gina   =ak   =yay   =ban   g-lo   sa   s   Calapan*
      when   1SG.NOM   {still   future}   IPFV;AGT-go   ALL   OBL   *Calapan*
      'when I go to Calapan'

(759) *kaduge   =mi   g-dife*
      while   1PL.NOM.EXCL   IPFV;AGT-cross.river
      'while we were crossing the river'

When the subject of a Type II subordinate clause is a full noun phrase, it can come before or after the subordinator:

(760) *gina   ku   taguk   in-kabat   =dawdaw*
      when   1SG.GEN   blood   PFV;NAGT-be.tall   {much}
      'when my blood got very tall' (i.e. 'when my blood pressure got very high')

(761) *ku   maŋama   gina   n-dasug*
      1SG.GEN   husband   when   PFV;NAGT-arrive
      'when my husband arrived'

Further research would be needed to explain why this variability occurs.

10.7.2.1   Concession

The subordinator *dewa* is used when the main clause is or would be true regardless of the eventuality of what is described in the subordinate clause. It is used for both real and hypothetical situations:

(762) *dewa   n-labe   sik   simban*
      even.though   PFV;NAGT-burn   DET   church

      kanya   fag   krus   di   n-labe
      DEM.DIST   LNK   cross   NEG   PFV;NAGT-burn
      'Even though a church burnt down, that cross didn't burn up.'

(763) *katsi   =ro   dewa   e   l<um>o   si   em   guyan*
      today   {irrealis}   even.if   EXIST   <PROJ;AGT>go   LOC   1PL.GEN.EXCL   back.area

      bun   wa   ami   fag   ful-an
      NEG   NEG   1PL.NOM.EXCL   LNK   be.gathered-NMLZ
      'Later today, even if someone comes behind us, it's not our group.'

10.7.2.2   Temporal: gina and kaduge

The subordinator *gina* is used to mark temporal subordinate clauses:

(764) *g-fa-sigad*   *gina*   *g-sudyaŋ*
     IPFV;AGT-CAUS-start   when   IPFV;AGT-be.sunny
     '[One] starts when [it] is sunny.'

(765) *gina*   *ku*   *taguk*   *in-kabat*   *=dawdaw*
     when   1SG.GEN   blood   PFV;NAGT-be.tall   {much}

     in-rios   *=au*   *ku*   *darafa*
     PFV;NAGT-be.cold   1SG.NOM   1SG.GEN   foot
     'When my blood pressure got very high, my feet got cold.'

    Like *gina*, the subordinator *kaduge* marks temporal subordinate clauses:

(766) *ebi*   *kaduge* *ig-sudyaŋ*   *wa* *nà-tanum*
     past.time while   IPFV;AGT-be.sunny   NEG PFV;AGT-plant
     'In the past, while it was sunny, [they] hadn't planted.'

(767) *ma-taŋaŋa*   *=way* *=gugat*   *kaduge* *=ami*   *ig-sakay*
     ADJ-be.openmouthed {bad   durative} while   1PL.NOM.EXCL IPFV;AGT-ride
     '[She] was constantly openmouthed while we were riding.'

10.7.2.3   Zero conditional

The subordinator *fagalay* marks the protasis of a zero conditional, that is, a conditional which communicates a general truth:

(768) *fagalay* *fan-name-un*   *nà-labe*   *=wan*
     if   NMLZ-clean.swidden-NMLZ   PFV;AGT-burn   {already}
     'If it's swidden-cleaning season, [one] has already burnt off.'

(769) *fagalay* *ga-alo-an*
     if   IPFV;ADVERS-go.with-RES

     e   *g-alo*   *=yay* *=naŋus* *si* *m*   *guyan*
     EXIST   IPFV;AGT-go.with {still   resemble} LOC 2SG.GEN back.area
     'If [one] is getting chased, it would seem that there is still someone coming along behind you.'

    The subordinator *fagalay* has a short form *galay* with no apparent difference in meaning:

(770) *galay* *e*   *buadan* *e*   *fun* *=ro*
     if   EXIST fruit   EXIST tree {inferential}
     'If there is fruit, there is surely a tree.'

10.7.3 Temporal/conditional *nu* clause

The third type of subordinate clause covers only one subordinator, *nu*, which functions as (among other things) a generic temporal/conditional marker.[73] Throughout this book I gloss it simply as 'SUB':

(771) *nu*   *g-lugo*   =*wan*
       SUB   IPFV;AGT-be.long.time {already}

    ka   *fag* *ina*   *nà-lag*   =*unu*   *sik* *taw*   *buid*
    DEM.DIST LNK woman PFV;AGT-see {hearsay} DET   person upriver
    'When it had been a long time, that woman saw an upriver person.'

(772) *nu*   *nàfa-suad*   =*w*   =*o*
       SUB   POT;PFV;AGT-put.inside {already}   2SG.NOM

    ani   =*way* *fa-ful-i*   *at*   *funfun*
    DISCP-IMPV {just} [AGT]-CAUS-be.gathered-IMPV DET bush
    'If you have managed to put it in, just gather up the bushes.'

When it comes to negation, *nu* clauses are in a class of their own. There is a dedicated set of negators which are used only in these clauses (see section 3.2.10.2):

(773) *wa*   =*tam*   *g-uban-an*   *nu*   *dway* *ma-sine*
       NEG   1PL.NOM.INCL IPFV;AGT-carrying.strap-RES SUB   NEG   ADJ-be.good
    'We don't carry [it] if [it] isn't good.'

(774) *bas*   =*ta*   =*wan*
       go;IMPV 1DU.NOM.INCL {now}

    nu   *gdi* =*ro*   =*o*   *ka-bayuk*   *aŋku*
    SUB   NEG   {uncertain} 2SG.NOM IPFV;NAGT-bad.smelling 1SG.ACC
    'Let's go now, if you don't find me smelly.'

Because these negators only occur in temporal/conditional *nu* clauses, their presence is enough to indicate that a clause is a temporal/conditional *nu* clause. In fact, when this kind of clause is negated, speakers very frequently leave out the *nu* subordinator:

(775) *fa-ste-i*   *ku*   *fiso*
       [AGT]-CAUS-DEM.PROX.OBL-IMPV 1SG.GEN knife

    way =*o*   *g-yawa*
    NEG   2SG.NOM IPFV;AGT-do.weeding
    'Give my knife here if you're not doing any weeding.'

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[73] See section 10.3 for a description of other functions of *nu*.

(776) *way* =*am*   *tarabau*
NEG 2PL.NOM work

way =*am*   *fagbulun*
NEG 2PL.NOM work

an   =*way* =*am*   *ka-lunus*
DISCP {bad} 2PL.NOM IPFV;NAGT-be.hungry
'If you don't work, if you don't work, you go hungry.'

In *nu* clauses, the position of any pronominal or semantic clitics is unaffected by the presence of the subordinator:

(777) *nu*   *nà-alo*   =*wa*   =*ro*   =*am*   *aŋku*
SUB PFV;AGT-go.with {already irrealis} 2PL.NOM 1SG.ACC

n-amin   =*wan*   *ku*   *fa-g-fan-yafun-an*
PFV;NAGT-be.used.up {already} 1SG.GEN NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-ACQ-dinner-NMLZ
'If you came along with me, the place where I get dinner from would be used up.'

If the subject is a full noun phrase that precedes the verb, it also precedes the subordinator:

(778) *ay*   *iba*   *nu* *nà-f-amin*   =*wan*
2PL.GEN fellow.one SUB PFV;AGT-CAUS-be.used.up {already}

am   =*ban*   *w*   =*am*   *e*   *fa-g-fan-yafun-an*
2PL.NOM {future} NEG 2PL.NOM EXIST NMLZ-IPFV;AGT-ACQ-dinner-NMLZ
'When your companions have used [it] up, you, you won't have a place to get dinner from.'

(779) *karabaw*   *talun*   *nu*   *ka-ela*   *t*   *fuyu*
water.buffalo jungle SUB IPFV;NAGT-be.scared DET youngest.sibling

g-lo   =*wa*   *sasa*   *ŋay* *fatan*
IPFV;AGT-go {already} ALL PL   track
'When the wild water buffalo got scared of the youngest sibling, [they] went along the tracks.'

Appendix: Annotated Texts

A.1   The Leaf-Cape

This traditional narrative was told by C. Like several other narratives in the text collection, it is set in a time that my informants refer to as the *faŋautun* 'hauling season'.[74] This 'hauling season' is considered by my informants to be a real time in history, and although it was not within A and C's lifetime, the two of them could name deceased acquaintances who had apparently lived through it. Lines 1–5 of this story are characteristic of how informants describe the 'hauling season'.

One thing that this text never states, but simply assumes to be true, is that the women in the story are wearing *fanduŋ* 'leaf-capes' (see line 30). Leaf-capes are made of large leaves layered on top of each other, some broadleaves and some palm fronds. They hang off a person's head by a strap, leaving the hands free and providing cover from the rain. They vary in size; the largest ones cover the back of the head, the whole back, and part of the legs.

Photograph 4. A woman wearing a leaf-cape on a rainy day in Safa.

© 2014, photo by author.

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[74] The root of this form, *aut*, which I have glossed 'haul', refers to the activity of transporting a large quantity of things by making repeated trips back and forth.

1. *gina* =*unu*   *faŋ-aut-un*   *fag*   *luŋud*
   when {hearsay} NMLZ-haul-NMLZ LNK time

   laman   *at*   *ŋay*   *siganun*   =*unu*   =*ŋani*
   umm   DET   PL   lowlander {hearsay redundant}[75]

   an   =*ayu*   =*daw*   *ig-ya-bul-un*   =*dawdaw*   *maŋyan*
   DISCP {many much} IPFV-CON-[AGT]-get-CON {much}   *Mangyan*
   'When [it] was time of the hauling season, umm like I said the lowlanders were all very much trying to get *Mangyan*.'

2. *siganun*   =*unu*   *fag*   *ful-an*   *nà-lo*   *sa*   *s*   *taw*   *buid*   *talun*
   lowlander {hearsay} LNK be.gathered-NMLZ PFV;AGT-go ALL OBL person upriver land
   'The lowlander group went to the upriver people's land.'

3. *ig-sarap*   *taw*   *buid*
   IPFV;AGT-look.for person upriver
   '[They] were looking for upriver people.'

4. *ay*   *at*   *taw*   *buid*   *sa*   *am*   *buid*   *sad*   *sablay-an*
   and DET person upriver ALL 2SG.GEN upriver INE cross.hill-NMLZ

   ma-son   *nu*   *ka-limu*
   ADJ-be.intense LNK IPFV;NAGT-be.afraid
   'And the upriver people upriver (from you) in the highlands were intensely afraid.'

5. *g-ayup*   *te*   *mà-taban*   *anya* *sa* *at*   *talun* *e*   *sa* *at*   *bale*
   IPFV;AGT-think QUOT AVERT-[AGT]-bring 3ACC ALL 3GEN land INTERJ ALL 3GEN house

   ay   *mà-f-ate*   *anya*
   and AVERT-[AGT]-CAUS-die 3ACC
   'They thought that they might bring them to their land, ah, to their house and kill them.'

6. *ay*   *sik* *menit* *siganun*   *nà-lo*   *sa*   *t*   *buid*
   and DET day   lowlander PFV;AGT-go ALL DET upriver

   sa   *s*   *wa*   *taw*   *buid*
   ALL OBL midst upriver person
   'And one day, the lowlanders went upriver, into the midst of the upriver people.'

7. *ay*   *sik* *ŋay* *maŋena* *si*   *s*   *wa*   *balayaŋ*
   and DET PL   woman LOC OBL midst sweet.potato
   'And some women were in the midst of the sweet potato.'

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[75] C had just finished telling this story off-record, in the context of a discussion about the significance of the 'hauling season', so the use of the clitic =*ŋani* marking redundant information is not as surprising as it might seem.

8. *sanya*   =*unu*   =*ayuayu*
DEM.DIST.OBL {hearsay   many}
'There were many of them there.'

9. *g-ayg-alu-an*   =*tua*   *maŋena* *fag* *ful-an*
IPFV-ITER-[AGT]-go.with-ITER {good}   woman LNK be.gathered-NMLZ

   teway   *ga-yuŋan*   =*unu*   =*dawdaw* *siganun*
   because IPFV;ADVERS-be.afraid {hearsay much}   lowlander
   'The women's group used to stick together because they were very afraid of the lowlanders.'

10. *ay* *sik* *menit* *ka*   *fag* *ŋay* *maŋena* *sanya*   =*wa*   =*unu*
   and DET day   DEM.DIST LNK PL   woman DEM.DIST.OBL {already hearsay}
   'And one day those women were there.'

11. *ay* *e*   *na-bantay* =*unu*   *sa*   *am*   *dayu*   *am*   *dayu*
   and EXIST NMLZ-spy {hearsay} ALL 2SG.GEN area.away 2SG.GEN area.away
   'And they spied something far, far away (from you).'

12. *sik*   *taw*
   DET   person
   '[It] was a person!'

13. *ay* *ka*   *fag* *ŋay* *maŋena* =*unu*   *nà-taruŋ*
   and DEM.DIST LNK PL   woman {hearsay} PFV;AGT-run

   sa *m*   *dayu*   *sa* *m*   *dayu*   *sa* *ŋaba* *balayaŋ*
   ALL 2SG.GEN area.away ALL 2SG.GEN area.away ALL length sweet.potato
   'And those women ran, away (from you), away (from you), through the sweet potato.'

14. *ay* *nu* *g-taruŋ*   =*unu*   *g-laŋfe*   =*wan*   *sa* *sik* *muyud*
   and SUB IPFV;AGT-run {hearsay} IPFV;AGT-pass {already} ALL DET ridge
   'And as they ran, they passed one ridge.'

15. *n-dasug*   =*yay*   =*unu*   =*fia*   *sa* *sik* *wa*   *balayaŋ-an*
   PFV;NAGT-arrive {repeat1 hearsay repeat2} ALL DET midst sweet.potato-NMLZ
   'They arrived at another sweet potato field.'

16. *ay* *nu* *g-taruŋ*   =*unu*   *kadugayan*   *ka-yabi*   =*wan*
   and SUB IPFV;AGT-run {hearsay} length.of.time IPFV;NAGT-night {already}

   ka-arum   =*wan*
   IPFV;NAGT-dark {already}
   'And their running, the length of time that it took was such that it was becoming night, it was getting dark.'

17. *ay   sadi   k   ina   =unu   ig-faŋ-almatuk   =yay*
    and one   LNK woman {hearsay} IPFV;AGT-ACQ-leech {still}

    teway   ka-lufuy   =wa   =dawdaw   nu   g-taruŋ
    because IPFV;NAGT-be.tired {already much}   SUB   IPFV;AGT-run
    'And one woman was looking for leeches, because she was becoming very tired while running.'[76]

18. *ŋa-yayu   =wa   =unu   at   na-lo*
    ADJ-be.far {already hearsay} 3GEN   NMLZ-go
    '[The distance] which she had gone was already far.'

19. *faŋ-almatuk   =yay   =unu*
    ACQ-leech   {still   hearsay}
    '[She] was looking for leeches.'

20. *ay   t   iba   =unu   g-lo   =wan*
    and   3GEN   fellow.one {hearsay} IPFV;AGT-go {already}

    sa   m   dayu   ŋaba   dalan
    ALL   2SG.GEN area.away length path
    'And her companions were going away (from you) along the path.'

21. *ay   kanya   =unu   dua   sanya   =yay   =unu   =gugat   ma-lindug*
    And   DEM.DIST {hearsay} two   DEM.DIST.OBL {still hearsay durative} ADJ-stand
    'And those two were still there standing.'

22. *at   sadi   =unu   ig-faŋ-almatuk*
    DET   one   {hearsay} IPFV;AGT-ACQ-leech
    'One of them was looking for leeches.'

23. *ay   rodi   =unu   g-loŋ   =unu   te*
    and   later {hearsay} IPFV;AGT-say {hearsay} QUOT

    sek   ia   katsi sena   bas   =ta   =wan
    INTERJ no   now   female.companion go;IMPV 1DU.NOM.INCL {now}

    ta   iba   ka-yayu   =wan
    1DU.GEN.INCL fellow.one IPFV;NAGT-be.far {already}

    n-tabu   =wan   nu   g-faŋ-almatuk   =au
    PFV;NAGT-finish [already] LNK   IPFV;AGT-ACQ-leech 1SG.NOM
    'And later she said: "Oh bother, no! Friend, let's go now. Our companions are already getting far away. I'm done looking for leeches."'

---

[76] The rivers and streams around Safa (and in other parts of central-eastern Mindoro) are infested with tiny leeches, and (I know well from personal experience that) travellers in the area often get bitten. Since the leech bites can't be felt, people travelling through wet areas often pause to check themselves for leeches.

24. *dewa*   *=unu*   *kata nya*
even.though {hearsay} like 3ACC

    sanya   *=yay* *=unu*   *=gugat*   *at*   *usena*
    DEM.DIST.OBL {still hearsay durative} 3GEN female.companion
    'Even though it was like that, her companion stayed there.'

25. *ig-fanya*   *te*   *taw* *ku*   *sena*
IPFV;AGT-wait QUOT what 1SG.GEN female.companion

    fag-lugo-un   *=dawdaw* *nu* *g-lo*
    NMLZ-be.long-NMLZ {much}   LNK IPFV;AGT-go
    'She was waiting, [wondering]: "What is my companion's reason for taking so long to go?"'

26. *rodi* *=unu*   *ig-tuktuk*   *=way* *=sirut* *at* *sadi fanduŋ*
later {hearsay} IPFV;AGT-tap {just   little} DET one leaf.cape
'Later she tapped her leaf-cape just a little.'

27. *sena*   *katsi go ya*   *n-tabu*   *nu* *g-faŋ-almatuk*   *=o*
female.companion now Q NEG PFV;NAGT-finish LNK IPFV;AGT-ACQ-leech 2SG.NOM

    bas   *=ta*   *=wan*
    go;IMPV 1DU.NOM {now}

    ta   *iba*   *ka-yayu*   *=wan*
    1DU.GEN.INCL companion IPFV;NAGT-be.far {already}'
    '"Friend are you not yet done looking for leeches? Let's go now! Our companions are already getting far away."'

28. *rodi* *=unu*   *ka-mbaŋ*   *=wan*
later {hearsay} IPFV;NAGT-be.bored {already}
'Later she was sick of waiting.'

29. *g-ayup*   *te*   *ka-arum*   *=wan*   *=ay*
IPFV;AGT-think QUOT IPFV;NAGT-be.dark {already reason}

    wa *=loŋ*   *=ro*   *l<um>ag*   *at* *dalan*
    NEG {emphatic Inferential} <PROJ;AGT>see DET path
    'She thought that since it was already getting dark she wouldn't be able to see the path.'

30. *rodi*   *=unu*   *an*   *=wa*   *=unu*   *ig-rafe*   *=sirut*
    later {hearsay} DISCP {already hearsay} IPFV;AGT-lift.up {little}

    at   *usena*   *fanduŋ*   *te*
    3GEN female.companion leaf.cape QUOT

    go *taw* *ku*   *sena*   *fag-yud-un*   *=gugat*   *g-lo*
    Q   what 1SG.GEN female.companion NMLZ-NEG-NMLZ {extended.time} IPFV;AGT-go

    sek *ia* *em*   *iba*   *in-yayu*   *=wan*
    INTERJ no 1PL.GEN.EXCL fellow.one PFV;NAGT-be.far {already}
    'Later she lifted up her companion's leaf-cape a little bit, [thinking,] "Why does my companion keep on not going? Oh bother, oh no! Our companions have gotten far away."'

31. *an*   *=wa*   *=unu*   *=dawdaw* *ga-dugdug-an*
    DISCP {already hearsay much}   IPFV;ADVERS-advance-RES

    ka   *fag* *ŋay* *taw*   *aro*   *at*   *na-bantay*
    DEM.DIST LNK PL   person earlier 3GEN NMLZ-spy
    'They were already really getting caught up with by the people that she/they had spotted earlier.'

32. *ay* *nà-liŋgat*   *=unu*   *sa* *t*   *usena*   *daga*   *fanduŋ*
    and PFV;AGT-look {hearsay} ALL 3GEN female.companion space.below leaf.cape
    'And she looked beneath her companion's leaf-cape.'

33. *e*   *sek*   *ia* *tuy*   *=maŋaro*   *bun* *wa* *sik* *taw*
    INTERJ INTERJ no DEM.PROX {realization} NEG NEG DET person
    '"Oh dear! Oh no! It turns out that this isn't a person!'

34. *sik* *tud*   *=way* *=maŋaro*
    DET stump {bad   realization}
    '"It's just a tree stump!"'[77]

35. *at* *sadi* *=unu*   *nà-taruŋ*   *=way* *sa* *am*   *dayu*
    DET one {hearsay} PFV;AGT-run {bad} ALL 2SG.GEN area.away
    'She just ran away (from you).'

---

[77] C explained when the recorder was off that another woman would have hung her leaf-cape on a tree stump to confuse lowlanders who were trying to catch them.

36. *nà-uro*   *te*   *lag*   *g-ubun*   *aŋku*
     PFV;AGT-yell   QUOT   NEG;IMPV   IPFV;AGT-leave.behind   1SG.ACC

     kanya   *=maŋaro*   *bun*   *wa*   *ku*   *sena*
     DEM.DIST   {realization}   NEG   NEG   1SG.GEN   female.companion

     n   *=way*   *=daw*   *sik*   *tud*
     DISCP   {bad   sudden}   DET   stump
     'She yelled: "Don't leave me behind! It turns out that that wasn't my companion – it was just a tree stump!"'

37. *ay*   *k-aba*   *nya*   *=wan*   *ku*   *nasaful*
     and   COMPV-be.long   3ACC   {already}   1SG.GEN   NMLZ:INV-know
     'And what I know is as long as that.'

A.2 The Carrying-Strap

This traditional narrative was told by B.

1. *at   sadi ku   kwintu laman*
   DET one 1SG.GEN story   umm
   'One story of mine umm…'

2. *sik   talanan*
   DET immediate.family
   '[There was] a family.'

3. *at   uŋa sadi*
   3GEN child one
   'They had one child.'

4. *at   maŋama nà-loŋ   te*
   DET man   PFV;AGT-say QUOT

   talanak   katsi =ro   g-alin   =wa   =tam   ste   =ginan
   mother+child now {irrealis} IPFV;AGT-shift.dwelling {already} 1PL.NOM.INCL DEM.PROX.OBL ABL

   g-uban-an   =wa   =tam   tam   balan
   IPFV;AGT-carrying.strap-RES {already} 1PL.NOM.INCL 1PL.GEN.INCL livestock

   tam   butan g-uban-an   =wa   =tam
   1PL.GEN.INCL pig   IPFV;AGT-carrying.strap-RES {already} 1PL.NOM.INCL
   'The man said: "Wife and child, today we are moving from here. We are going to carry our livestock by carrying-strap. We are going to carry our pig by carrying-strap."'[78]

5. *gloŋ   te   kin*
   IPFV;AGT-say QUOT yes
   '[She] said: "Yes."'

6. *at   maŋena =unu   g-loŋ   te*
   DET woman {hearsay} IPFV;AGT-say QUOT

   kin g-alin   =wa   =tam
   yes IPFV;AGT-shift.dwelling {already} 1PL.NOM.INCL
   'The woman said: "Yes, let's move."'

---

[78] B and C say that when moving house, a pig would be carried in a large conical basket, which like most baskets hangs off the head by a carrying-strap. I have seen people carrying both pigs and small children in baskets when making trips between villages.

7. *ay guruŋan kanya fag dadua g-lo =wan*
and really DEM.DIST LNK spouse.pair IPFV;AGT-go {already}
'And that husband and wife really were going.'

8. *g-loŋ =unu te at maŋena*
IPFV;AGT-say {hearsay} QUOT DET woman

kin aŋku =tua ta uban at ma-tiŋid
yes 1SG.ACC {good} 1DU.GEN.INCL carrying.strap DET ADJ-be.sturdy

teway ku uban ka-lifuŋ =wan =ay
because 1SG.GEN carrying.strap IPFV;NAGT-cut {already reason}
'The woman said: "The sturdy carrying-strap should be mine, right, because my carrying-strap is already snapping."'

9. *g-loŋ =unu te at maŋama*
IPFV;AGT-say {hearsay} QUOT DET husband

ia aŋku =tua tey ta butan bia =dawdaw
no 1SG.ACC {good} because 1DU.GEN.INCL pig big {much}

ay um-lifuŋ =ro
and PROJ;NAGT-cut {inferential}
'The man said: "No [it] should be mine because our pig is very big and [it] would snap."'

10. *g-loŋ te*
IPFV;AGT-say QUOT

ia =loŋ aŋku =tua ta uban at ma-tiŋid
no {emphatic} 1SG.ACC {good} 1DU.GEN.INCL carrying.strap DET ADJ-be.sturdy

teway aŋku ku uban-an ta uŋa =wan =ay
because 1SG.ACC 1SG.GEN carrying.strap-RES;NMLZ 1DU.GEN.INCL child {already because}

dewa =ro in-toŋ emu am butan
even.if [irrealis] PFV;NAGT-fall 2SG.ACC 2SG.GEN pig

ay ta uŋa =loŋ daŋadi
but 1DU.GEN.INCL child {emphatic} NEG;IMPV
'[She] said: "No way! Our sturdy carrying-strap should be mine because what I am carrying is our child. It would be one thing if your pig fell, but our child – let it not be!"'

11. *ay g-lo =wa =fia*
and IPFV;AGT-go {fulfilment}
'And they really left.'

12. *ia wa nà-falit-an at uban*
no NEG PFV-[AGT]-swap-ITER 3GEN carrying.strap
'No, they didn't swap carrying-straps.'

13. *si   t   maŋama   t   ma-tiŋid   fag   uban*
    LOC DET man   DET ADJ-be.sturdy LNK carrying.strap
    'The man's was the strong carrying-strap.'

14. *ay   si   t   maŋena   gàka-lifuŋ-un   =way*
    and LOC DET woman ANTIC;IPFV;NAGT-cut-ANTIC {bad}
    'And the woman's was in danger of snapping.'

15. *ay   ig-suad-an   =wa   =unu   at   uŋa   sad   sabi*
    and IPFV;AGT-put.inside-RES {already hearsay} 3GEN child INE basket
    'And she was carrying their child in the basket.'

16. *sanya   =unu   e   fag-dalan-un   sik   abat*
    DEM.DIST.OBL {hearsay} EXIST NMLZ-go.by.way.of-NMLZ DET cliff
    'There, [they] had a cliff to go by way of.'

17. *ŋabat   ŋabat*
    ADJ-be.tall ADJ-be.tall
    '[It] was really tall!'

18. *sik   gubaŋ*
    DET landslip
    '[It] was a landslip.'

19. *at   ŋayan =unu   kanya   muyud Sigbia*
    3GEN name {hearsay} DEM.DIST ridge *Sigbia*
    'Its name, that one, [it] was Sigbia Ridge.'

20. *ay   kanya   =unu   fag dadua   ig-dalan   =wa   =unu   sanya*
    and DEM.DIST {hearsay} LNK spouse.pair IPFV;AGT-go.by.way.of {already hearsay} DEM.DIST.OBL
    'And that husband and wife were going along there.'

21. *ay   at   an   =unu   at   talanak   ig-lo   =yama   =unu   =gugat*
    and DET DISCP {hearsay} DET mother+child IPFV;AGT-go {background hearsay durative}

    at   uban   in-lifuŋ   sanya   sad gubaŋ
    DET carrying.strap PFV;NAGT-cut DEM.DIST.OBL INE cliff
    'And the, as the mother and child had been going along, the carrying-strap split [while they were] there on the cliff.'

22. *ay aro   =taw   =ro   at tina ig-lag   =yadi at sabi*
    and earlier.same.day {narrative.time}[79] {inferential} DET mother IPFV;AGT-see {still} DET basket
    'And earlier, the mother would have still seen the basket.'

23. *g-lag   =yay nu   ka-fulid*
    IPFV;AGT-see {still} SUB IPFV;NAGT-fall
    '[She] still saw as [it] fell.'

24. *rodi =unu   nà-lag   =wan   at   ŋeŋe nu   ka-adkad*
    later {hearsay} PFV;AGT-see {already} 3GEN baby SUB IPFV;NAGT-dig.through
    'Soon [she] saw their baby as [it] spilled out. '

25. *rodi g-lag   at   ŋeŋe*
    later IPFV;AGT-see 3GEN baby
    'Soon she saw their baby.'

26. *g-taguk   =wan*
    IPFV;AGT-bleed {already}
    '[It] was bleeding.'

27. *rodi at   ŋeŋe butul ka-farikfik   =wan*
    later 3GEN baby bone   IPFV;NAGT-splinter {already}
    'Soon their baby's bones were splintering.'

28. *ay   nà-eloŋan   =unu   te*
    and PFV;AGT-speak {hearsay} QUOT

    sa   s   at   dayu   t   dayu   s   fuŋfuŋ gubaŋ ku
    ALL OBL DET area.away DET area.away OBL tip   cliff 1SG.GEN

    loŋ-an   =ŋani   emu   aŋku   =tua   ta   uban   at   ma-tiŋid
    say-NMLZ   {redundant} 2SG.ACC 1SG.ACC {good} 1DU.GEN.INCL carrying.strap DET ADJ-be.sturdy

    uda   =ŋani   katsi =ŋani   ta   ŋeŋe in-fulid   =wan
    INTERJ {redundant} now   {redundant} 1DU.GEN.INCL baby PFV;NAGT-fall {already}
    'And [she] spoke [when they were] far far away at the end of the cliff: "What I said to you was that our sturdy carrying-strap should be mine! Oy! Now our baby has fallen!"'

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[79] The clitic =*(a)taw* is sometimes used in narrative contexts to clarify that the preceding temporal adverb should be interpreted relative to the time within the narrative, rather than to the time at which the narrative is being recounted.

29. *at   maŋama =unu   nà-loŋ   te*
   DET man   {hearsay} PFV;AGT-say QUOT

   e   kin   =ŋaro
   INTERJ yes {realization}

   tey   =ŋaro   aro   k=   wa   nà-faniŋ   emu
   because {realization} earlier 1SG.NOM NEG   PFV;AGT-follow 2SG.ACC
   'The man said: "Oh yeah…it turns out it's that way because earlier I didn't follow you."'

30. *ay   kanya   =unu   at   ma-suad*
   and DEM.DIST {hearsay} 3GEN ADJ-put.inside
   'And that one's meaning –'

31. *kanya   k-aba   nya   =wan*
   DEM.DIST COMPV-be.long 3ACC {already}
   'That one is as long as that.'

32. *kanya   =unu   t   ma-suad*
   DEM.DIST {hearsay} 3GEN ADJ-put.inside

   sik dadua   daŋay   g-fa-tsi   at   maŋama t   fasad-an
   DET spouse.pair NEG;IMPV IPFV;AGT-CAUS-LOC DET man   3GEN suppose-NMLZ

   nu   ma-tuyan   =tua   aŋgan si   t   maŋena
   SUB ADJ-be.convinced {good} also   LOC DET woman
   'That one's meaning is: Let a husband and wife not act according to the man's plan if the woman's one is also right.'

33. *an-i   =tua   faniŋ-i*
   DISCP-IMPV {good} follow-IMPV

   laman   rodi   di   e   loŋ-an   te
   so.that later NEG EXIST say-NMLZ QUOT

   uda   =ŋani   aŋku   katsi kata nya   =way   =daw
   INTERJ {redundant} 1SG.ACC now   like 3ACC {bad   much}
   'Rather, follow it, so that later there aren't any words [saying]: "Oy! Mine is exactly like that now"' (i.e. "It's turned out exactly like what I said.")

34. *kanya   ka-aba   nya   =wan*
   DEM.DIST COMPV-be.long 3ACC {already}
   'That one is as long as that.'

A.3 Harvesting

The following short text is a description by C of the procedures involved in harvesting sweet potato, a major crop grown by the Eastern Tawbuid. This text is an excerpt from a much longer text in which C went through a range of the crops grown in the area, describing planting and harvesting procedures for each. I have included an excerpt from it here to provide some variety, given that the other two texts in this Appendix are both traditional narratives.

1. *nu   k-ali   amunti*
    SUB   IPFV;AGT-dig   sweet.potato
    'How one digs up sweet potato:'

2. *at   kadugayan   nu   ma-saksak-an   nu   an   =wa*
    DET   length.of.time   SUB   ADJ-plant.rootcrop-RES   SUB   DISCP   {already}

    t   iba   k   amunti   g-lugo   =way   =ay   nu   ka-bilug
    DET   some   LNK   sweet.potato   IPFV;AGT-be.long.time   {bad   reason}   SUB   IPFV;NAGT-be.whole

    maŋa   unum   k   magdanun
    approximately   six   LNK   month

    an   =w   =ami   g-liŋgat   em   amunti   te
    DISCP   {already}   1PL.NOM.EXCL   IPFV;AGT-look   1PL.NOM.EXCL   sweet.potato   QUOT

    go   ma-rabuŋ   =wa   =daw
    Q   ADJ-be.leafy   {already   much}

    go   g-bulaklak   =wa   =dawdaw
    Q   IPFV;AGT-flower   {already   much}
    'When the length of time that it has been planted is already – because some kinds of sweet potatoes take a long time to develop tubers – about six months, we look at our sweet potato plant to see if it's leafy, if it's flowering a lot.'

3. *nu   g-bulak-an   =wa   =ayuayu*
    SUB   IPFV;AGT-flower-POSS   {already   en.masse}

    saful   =w   =ami   te
    know   {already}   1PL.NOM.EXCL   QUOT

    e   bilug   =wa   =ro
    EXIST   tuber   {already   inferential}
    'If it has a lot of flowers, we know that it must have tubers.'

4. *ay   nu   an   =wa   at   bulaklak   ŋ-ayu   =wa   =dawdaw*
    and   SUB   DISCP   {already}   3GEN   flower   ADJ-be.many   {already   much}

    nan-sarap   =wa   =mi   at   bilug   sa   s   fun   amunti
    INTENT;IPFV-[AGT]-search   {already}   1PL.NOM.EXCL   DET   tuber   ALL   OBL   base   sweet.potato
    'And when its flowers are very many, we'll look for the tubers at the base of the sweet potato plant.'

5. *bilug* =*loŋ*   *sanya*   =*wa*   =*ayuayu*
    tuber {emphatic} DEM.DIST.OBL {already en.masse}
    'The tubers will all be right there.'

6. *ig-tad-tayuk-an*   *nu* *ka-bilug*   =*tua*
    IPFV-ITER-[AGT]-touch-ITER   SUB IPFV;NAGT-be.whole   {good}
    'They'll be touching one another, if they're fully developed.'

7. *t*   *iba*   *ginan*   *sik* *fun* *amunti*   *dua* *k*   *fun*   *amunti*
    DET some instance DET base sweet.potato two LNK base sweet.potato

    k-apnu   =*wa*   =*baŋan*   *em*   *sabi*
    IPFV;NAGT-be.full   {already mostly.true} 1PL.NOM.EXCL basket

    nu *ta-ka-bilug*   =*tua*
    SUB NMLZ-IPFV;NAGT-be.whole {good}
    'Sometimes with[80] the base of one or two sweet potato plants, our basket just about fills up, if they are ones with fully developed tubers.'

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[80] The Eastern Tawbuid structure here is topic-comment (section 10.1), which is often difficult to render in English in a way that is both sensical and literal. In this translation I've supplied 'with' to clarify the connection between topic and comment.

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